

Complex Associations: facilitator, host and refugee, a 'round-about' way of drama for inclusion.

Shannon Hughes / HGHSHA002

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree
of Master of Arts in Applied Drama and Theatre Studies

Faculty of the Humanities

University of Cape Town

2013

COMPULSORY DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signed by candidate

Signature: _____ Signature Removed _____ Date: 16/09/2013

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

ABSTRACT

Complex Associations: facilitator, host and refugee, a 'round-about' way of drama for inclusion.

By Shannon Hughes

This dissertation focuses on the use of drama as a method of fostering inclusion of refugees and asylum seekers living in host communities. It examines two theatrically based studies simultaneously facilitated over a six month period between July and December of 2012 and explores the two programs from the stage of conception to conclusions regarding their effectiveness in tackling issues related to social exclusion, xenophobic sentiment and violence. The study approaches the topic from three social perspectives considering the position of refugee, host and facilitator and parallels these positions in order to highlight relationship structures which both prevent and assist in the fostering of inclusion and/or coexistence. The study further examines how the interactions help to develop the programs and how the use of theatre can bridge societal gaps; with a unique focus on environments where host and refugee find themselves in a non-encounter position due to the potential for violence. The research methodology stems primarily from grounded theory and brings together elements of symbolic interactionism, pedagogy, sociology, psychology and applied theatre. The method looks at increasing and facilitating communication about and between host and refugee through exploration in applied theatre and intends to increase social understanding between the parties by challenging participant's stereotypes of the other.

Acknowledgements

This dissertation would not have been possible without the many dedicated, supportive and brave individuals I have had the pleasure of working with over the past two years.

My classmates, colleagues and professors at the University of Cape Town have provided ongoing support, educational motivation and creative inspiration; especially my supervisors Veronica Baxter and Gay Morris followed my project and supported the work.

The Political Science department of The University of the Western Cape, primarily Laurence Piper, who provided me with the opportunity to visit I.Y. and, in turn, fostered a large portion of this thesis.

The Staff at James House, The Scalabrini Centre, and P.A.S.S.O.P. helped to initiate this research and encouraged arts in the lives of many.

The English Department at Scalabrini without whom this project would never have existed, particularly Daniela Cohen, Kirsty Cunningham and Miranda Madikane who supported the drama group and encouraged their continuation.

My family, who have put up with my long absences, but supported me every step of the way. Without you, my appreciation of people and culture would never have been fostered. You inspire me to show kindness and humility in my daily life and to pass on laughter and love.

The Sibanye youth club with whom I have had the privilege of working with and getting to know. Your talent, dedication and love for life are remarkable. You are models and inspiration to not only your community but to every person who crosses your path. Thank-you for teaching me; keeping singing!

Finally to the many individuals who passed through my programs at Scalabrini. Not only did our interactions produce this paper, but they produced great friendships which I will take with me forever. Your strength is a testament that we can do anything that we put our minds to, and your thoughtfulness and hospitality has had an immense effect on my character. I will pray for peace in your countries and hope to meet you again when we can all consider ourselves free.

This dissertation is dedicated to: My grandparents who taught me to explore the world and love the people within it. You may not have seen me graduate but 'you betcha my boots' having you as role-models had a lot to do with it happening.

CONTENTS

Abstract.....	1
Acknowledgments.....	2
Introduction.....	5
Chapter 1: Research Methodology and Literature Review.....	9
1.1. Conceptual Framework.....	9
1.2. Rationale for Qualitative Research Design.....	9
1.3. Rationale for Grounded Theory and Symbolic Interactionism.....	10
1.4. Supporting Methodologies.....	11
1.5. Literature Review.....	13
1.6. Research Participants.....	18
1.7. Background Information.....	18
1.8. Overview of Research Design.....	19
1.9. Data- Collection Methods.....	19
1.10. Method of Data Analysis.....	20
1.11. Ethical Considerations.....	21
1.12. Limitations of Study.....	21
Chapter 2: Integration Issues between Refugee and Host; Thwarting our Song.....	22
2.1. Introduction.....	22
2.2. The who's who of Immigration.....	22
2.3. Integration Issues.....	23
2.4. Integration Issues for Refugees in South Africa.....	26
2.5. Integration: Scalabrini Centre.....	29
2.6. Welcoming Issues for Hosts in South Africa.....	30
2.7. Community Concerns: Imizamo Yethu.....	31
2.8. Integration of Study Concerns.....	32
Chapter 3: Facilitator; The Fish and Chips and Vinegar.....	34
3.1. Where it all beings.....	34
3.2. How it all begins.....	35

3.3. Getting the choir to sing; How to foster a fondness for drama.....	37
3.3.1. C Number 1: Caring.....	37
3.3.2. C Number 2: Cooperation and Collaboration	38
3.3.3. Status.....	39
3.4. Communication in the round: Facilitating three part 'harmony'	41
3.4.1. C number 3: Communication.....	41
3.4.2. C number 4: Concentration.....	42
3.4.3. C number 5: Commitment.....	44
Chapter 4: Imizamo Yethu: Don't Throw your Junk in my backyard, my backyards full.....	46
4.1. Introduction.....	46
4.2. Background of Study.....	46
4.3. Purpose of Study.....	47
4.4. Description of Study.....	47
Chapter 5: Refugees: One bottle of pop (and so on).....	55
5.1. Introduction.....	55
5.2. Background of Study.....	55
5.3. Purpose of Study.....	55
5.4. Description of Study.....	56
5.4.1. Program Preparations.....	56
5.4.2. What Transpired to Alter the Program?.....	57
5.4.3. Drama for Inclusion: The Revamped Program.....	58
5.4.4. Phase 1.....	58
5.4.5. Phase 2: Introductions and Trust Building.....	58
5.4.6. Phase 3: Lifeskills.....	59
5.5. Stereotypes.....	63
Conclusions and Recommendations.....	64
Reference List.....	67

Introduction:

- 1) *Fish and chips and vinegar, vinegar, vinegar. Fish and chips and vinegar, pepper, pepper, pepper, salt.*
- 2) *Don't throw your junk in my backyard, my backyard, my backyard. Don't throw your junk in my backyard, my backyards full.*
- 3) *One bottle of pop, two bottle of pop, three bottle of pop, four bottle of pop, five bottle of pop, six bottle of pop, seven, seven, bottle of pop.*

(Canadian children's song, sung in a round)¹

I am Canadian; as such, there are certain memories, cultural signifiers and principles which I was raised on and which I hold dear. Furthermore, I am not willing to let go of them for anyone because, after all, I am Canadian.

Take the above song for example. Children of all races, religions and social classes sing this song across my country. It actually means nothing. Although, we could attempt to analyse the lyrics, perhaps making 'fish and chips' the colonial masters demanding the 'salt and pepper' of the region, that would defeat the purpose entirely. By my estimations, the purpose of this song is to create unity; to teach children how to work together and, despite having different roles, to function as a coexisting unit.

The song is sung in three parts as a round, with each section starting precisely one beat after the completion of the previous. You must know the rules; if you break the pattern you ultimately ruin the song and end up on the receiving end of childish disdain and mockery. Moreover, if you break the pattern one too many times, you may be asked to leave the group entirely.

But what if you are new to the song? To an outsider it may make no sense. It may just seem like a stream of gibberish words speeding past with absolutely no meaning (which is true). The newcomer may ask the singers to slow down, but we won't, because we're Canadian and have been singing it like this since as long as we can remember. The newcomer must find a way to fit into the round or to get out.

With that said, there was always that one caring person who took the time to help everyone learn the song; to slow it down so that we could see how it functioned. We were never told the rules but in slowing it down we could learn through the act of singing and find our place.

I am not new to the world of 'fitting in', after living on 4 continents, in 8 different countries, I understand the complexities of trying to integrate into a culture, with a people. I can also say

¹ Claims also state that this song is of American origin. There are two versions that differ slightly.

with fair confidence that 100% of the time I failed. I did not assimilate. I could not speak the language and in certain cases I simply refused to bow to cultural norms that went against my liberal upbringing and ethics. Yet, I can also recognise that I have had it relatively easy. I chose to move to these countries, and as a Canadian citizen with a flexible passport, I can leave whenever I want. Instead, I learn to live amongst my host society. Walking through the streets of rural Japan as a white female, I can't pretend that I belong, but I can be aware of cultural practices that may harm, irritate or offend the local population. I learn to coexist.

My context is a rare one. Those who choose to live overseas for fun, education and business make up a relatively small portion of people crossing international borders. I can tell you, again with fair confidence, that if I was one of the 2000 displaced people crossing each day (Staff Writers, 2012) due to conflict, famine, or economic hardship, my life would be much different. But would it make 'me' different? I would still be Canadian and want to hold onto my Canadian ways and forcing me to assimilate would cause hurt and anger; making me give up the last thing that I have left of a country that I have lost is, in my opinion, a sign of aggression not a sign of hospitality.

In 2006 I met my first refugee. I knew that many lived in Canada, but if I met one, I had no idea that that was their predicament. At the time, I was living in Cairo, Egypt; a city crowded with hoards of people from dusk till dawn, with the exception of prayer times, when the largely Muslim population took to the mosques to observe their faith. Yet, even as an outsider, I could recognise that the population was not all Egyptian. Many 'African' faces existed within the crowd, usually in poorer neighbourhoods or around the few churches scattered across the city, but their presence was there and, it appeared, unwelcomed. I had been invited to join a group of refugees who had been participating in a drama program through St. Andrew's Church and the American University in Cairo. It is through this interaction that I began to hear stories of refugees; stories which have continued to this very day. I have heard stories of bottles being broken over heads, of shops being set ablaze, of people being kidnapped for organs and of car guards being denied payment because they are not citizens. There in Cairo, I grew an interest in the refugees I met and passion for drama that was making a difference to their lives. It allowed the participants a voice, a community and a sense of confidence that protected them in their daily lives. It also allowed them the opportunity to revisit their heritage, their stories and their home. The program couldn't teach them how to integrate into society but through their interactions with each other and their facilitators it helped them to build an understanding of their new home, which helped them to live with greater ease.

This dissertation is a study on refugee theatre. It looks at drama as a method of developing inclusion for refugees who have been displaced by war, economics and a host of other factors. What I've begun to realise over the years, many of which have been involved in applied and

refugee theatre, is that nothing is as clear-cut as it seems. Therefore, this study attempts to differ from the collection of research already existing on this subject by examining the missing links; the hosts.

In my travels I have also known locals; from them I have heard stories of foreigners raping their sisters, stealing their jobs and bringing drugs to their communities. I have heard story after story after story, until I feel like I don't know which are true, lies or urban legends. The stereotypes revealed in each story begin to actually become the story, letting the associated notions of the other become the reality; if one refugee is a murderer, then all refugees must be murderers, if one host is a thief, they are all thieves. People begin acting towards the other, not based on truth, but on the perception of who they believe the other to be.

I believe that in a time when bombs are going off at the end of a marathon with fingers being pointed at the 'evil' foreigner, we need to stop and look at why.² Why are more and more foreigners acting out against their host communities? Why are hosts acting with such disdain against the foreigner? Sadly, we, as a collective global community, are doing something wrong and the stereotypes are only increasing. Perhaps our drive to assimilate the newcomer is actually causing a greater divide. In our attempt to make 'you' one of 'us,' we actually highlight that you will never be one of us.

This dissertation is a study on refugee theatre; but places more weight on the people and the process as opposed to the final product. It looks at the complex relationships between host and refugee and the position of the facilitator in the midst of the process. Furthermore, it focuses on a context where it is difficult for host and refugee to work together due to mistrust and the potential for violence. The paper stresses education, understanding and diversity over forced assimilation and compares the process to a musical 'round' which must contain certain elements in order to reach a state of harmony.

To introduce our 'round,' let us begin with the voices. Each voice needs to know their melody; they need to know exactly who they are and what they are singing and be proud to repeat that melody indefinitely. (They need to know their own song before being able to mix with others.) Next the voices need to know their position within the song, when they start and what their relation is to the other voices entangled in the mixture. With the song mentioned above, it is important to let the voice before you finish before jumping in with your own melody. It is like a conversation with one voice listening and responding to the voice before it; each with equal parts and equal importance.

² In reference to the Boston bombings that occurred on the 15th of April 2013, carried out by two Chechen brothers who originally arrived in America as refugees (Tapper, J. & Smith, M., 2013).

If all of the above aspects are in place a round can be harmonious. Although the simultaneous notes may vary most of the time, every now and again they fall into surprising unison. They coexist together and create a diverse, busy, and exciting environment. This dissertation questions how three parts, with different songs, can work together to find that unison (or in the very least to coexist).

University of Cape Town

Chapter 1: Research Methodology and Literature Review

1.1. Conceptual Framework

The purpose of this study was to examine the use of the dramatic arts as a method of promoting inclusion for refugees living in host communities as well as reducing xenophobia in said communities. The study involved research with a group of refugees as well as a group of township youth living in a community with high rates of foreigner presence and xenophobic sentiment; further detailed in Chapter 2. It examines the functions of the facilitator acting as a co-ordinator and active participant and looks at how the role assists in the fostering of inclusion. I believe that an improved understanding of the relationships between host/refugee and facilitator will allow future facilitators to proceed from a more knowledgeable standpoint in terms of project design and active implementation of refugee integration programs.

In seeking to understand the intricacies of the program, the study addresses four research questions: (a) What are the causes of xenophobia occurring between host and refugee communities? (b) What could be the role of the dramatic arts in the promotion of integration for refugees living in host communities? (c) How can the use of dramatic arts assist in the prevention of xenophobia within the host community? (d) What is the role of the facilitator in the promotion of social inclusion between the disputing parties?

This chapter focuses on the study's research methodology including considerations of the following areas: (a) rationale, (b) review of relevant literature, (c) research participants, (d) background information, (e) overview of research design, (f) methods of data collection, (g) analysis of data, (h) ethical considerations, (i) limitations of the study.

1.2. Rationale for Qualitative Research Design

Qualitative research is a form of social enquiry concerned with the social aspects of humans, their relationships, behaviours and complex experiences. It looks at 'the way people interpret and make sense of their experience and the world in which they live' (Holloway & Wheeler, 2003:30) while also stressing the uniqueness of individual thought and action (Parahoo, 1997:59). Qualitative research explains life and gives it meaning (Burns and Grove 2009:19), emphasising description and discovery (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998; Denzin & Lincoln, 2003; Merriam, 1998) whilst allowing the researcher to work from within the world of the research subjects in order to yield a more advanced understanding of human interactions (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998).

A qualitative research approach was chosen for this study in order to help understand and articulate the unique relationships between host and refugee and how said relationships are

fostered and transformed through the process of drama facilitation. Furthermore, the flexibility of design and interactivity was appropriate for capturing participant's opinions of relationships and contextual situations.

1.3. Rationale for Grounded Theory and Symbolic Interactionism

Within the framework of a qualitative design, the study was based in grounded theory and symbolic interactionism. Using dramaturgy as an analogy, human interactions are much like a performance. Actors take on fronts which are moulded by the environment and audience, constructed to fit into the situation and to provide others with convincing impressions of character. Actors may play many roles on stage whilst in the spotlight of the audience, yet when the curtains are drawn they may be a completely different person (Goffman, 1959). Blumer (1969) stated, in what is perhaps the basis of symbolic interactionism, that people act towards objects based on the meaning those objects hold for the actor; further suggesting that the meaning of the objects is negotiated through social interactions and subject to people's interpretive processes. This theory suggests that people's interactions are based on the labels they place on each other, their perceived roles in society and the languages (both symbolic and literal) that they possess. Symbolic interactionism provides lenses in which the researcher can think and view the subject under research providing 'a means for investigation not only of the social world but also of the contextualized processes by which human beings construct and engage with their social worlds' (Milliken & Schreiber, 2012:686). As a form of research methodology, it assists researchers in understanding social inequalities (Schwalbe, 2005) and how society and culture influence human behaviours. 'Symbolic interactionism is a worldview that provides a philosophical underpinning to grounded theory; it provides the researcher with a set of sensitizing concepts' (Milliken & Schreiber, 2012:685). Implemented in the context of this study, sensitising concepts examined different behaviours and behavioural patterns helping to pinpoint hostilities, social inequalities, communication difficulties, perceived aggression from 'the other,' social stereotyping and self-ostracism.

Grounded theory, put very simply, uses data as a method of developing new theory (Strauss & Corbin 1994:274). It is used to study social processes in context (Milliken & Schreiber, 2012), through the act of organising 'many ideas from analysis of data' (Glaser & Strauss, 1967:23). The data comes from the collaboration of participants and researcher which, in turn, creates the theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). It can then be related to existing theories within the field, extending current understanding of the phenomena in question (Laws & McLeod 2004:9).

The research methodologies fit well with the study due to their ability to interact with participants whilst generating new knowledge. Interweaved, they examine the complexities of human nature and suggest that humans possess the ability to break negative patterns of

interaction through emergence of knowledge (Snow, 2001). Applied Theatre, and in this case Drama for Inclusion, becomes a method or application used to collect data, promote human agency and knowledge and to develop theory.

1.4. Supporting Methodologies

Although one may argue that true grounded theory must be implemented without other theoretical backings, this was not the case in this study. Elements of practice as research, critical pedagogy, sociology and psychology all played important roles in advancing the study. Sociological informed approaches were used to examine how society can affect the ways in which human groupings interact and psychological approaches looked at how individual actions and thought can also have an impact on this interaction. Although one could argue that exploring elements of sociology and psychology could be problematic, creating tensions and contradictions, in the context of this study considering both is crucial. Sociology helps to explain why xenophobia and social exclusion are happening in communities, whereas psychology provides insight on who is likely to be affected more and how individuals can either protect themselves from the negative treatment and/ or how they can resist being pulled into societal 'norms' which may include violent tensions.

I did not enter into this study with a clear pedagogical backing; however, due to previous employment which included 10+ years of educational facilitation, critical pedagogy naturally affected the study. While I have not studied pedagogy, and teaching methods vary from country to country, I have learned to employ and implement the active student model largely influenced by Paulo Freire (1972).

Critical Pedagogy, first described by Freire, is a philosophy of education aimed at creating consciousness within students. Freire's basic principle of Critical Pedagogy suggests that education should help students to recognise their problems and experiences and form connections between those problems and their social contexts. As opposed to using the 'banking' style of teaching which treated students as though they were bank accounts waiting to be deposited with information, Freire argued for a teaching system where students become equal partners in the classroom, thus avoiding the dehumanisation of both student and teacher (Freire, 1972). 'In the language of critical pedagogy, the critical person is one who is empowered to seek justice, to seek emancipation' (Burbules & Berk in Keesing-Styles, 2003:3). As will be discussed in later chapters, the 'critical person' changed during this research process from being solely 'the refugee' to being all persons hindered by social contexts; including those in the host community.

As this study examines the use of drama as a means of generating knowledge, creating insights and as a form of education, Practice as Research (PaR) becomes another supporting

methodology. 'PaR engages specific aspects of theatre and performance as innovative process' (Kershaw & Nicholson, 2011:64). PaR, mixes well with grounded theory as both practices are inherently collaborative and emergent, meaning that the 'ideas and theory are ultimately the result of practice rather than vice versa' (Barrett & Bolt, 2007:6). Using performance as a method of research allows the scope of research to be boundless. Drama itself is bound by location in space and time (Kershaw & Nicholson, 2011:66), yet research through performance does not hold this restriction allowing for creative expression to lead to acquisition of data and research. Using PaR as a method of creating social change in the context of this study is useful due to its ability to break stereotypes through enacting and inventing. 'Invention begins when what signifies exceeds its signification-when what means one thing, or conceptually functions in one role, discloses other possibilities' (Carter in Barrett & Bolt, 2007:15). Relating back to symbolic interactionism, this would suggest that one method of breaking labels in society is through the act of performance. PaR becomes a form of collecting data as well as a method of creating social change.

Psychological and sociological theories influenced the initial research with theories regarding the negative effects of social ostracism playing a leading role. The research of Kipling D. Williams, a top academic in the field of social ostracism, was a catalyst for the creation of the study. His theories highlight the need to belong as 'the most fundamental of all human needs' (William, 2001:60) and stress the immensely damaging effects of social exclusion (Williams, 2007). In addition, William's research reveals that ostracism can have negative effects on both the target and instigators of social ostracism (2001); increasing the likelihood of retaliation from targets and affecting the social norms of the instigator making customary interactions with others more challenging (2001). When these theories are placed in a township setting where social ostracism between the host and 'the other' is a common occurrence, one may argue that the host population, and the subject of half of this research, are indeed the instigators of ostracism within the community. However, as became apparent through the workshop process, the host population additionally fall victim to this form of treatment; as the history of apartheid South Africa makes clear.

In order to effectively approach and understand the other causes of xenophobia occurring throughout South Africa various sociological and psychological theories were considered. Psychologist Abraham Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (1943) was studied in order to support the program findings in regards to the origins of both violent and non-violent xenophobic behaviours happening within township settings.

Literature regarding xenophobia and its causes within a South African setting (Dodson, 2012) were examined in order to support and isolate the research findings. Although primarily thought to be a supportive theory as opposed to one which merited extensive focus,

xenophobic theory developed into a key research concept further highlighting 'stereotyping' as a major obstacle preventing the social inclusion of refugees and one which could be effectively addressed through the medium of applied theatre.

As a student of the theatrical arts, the choice to employ dramatic techniques as a method of promoting inclusion and community dialogue was a natural decision. I believe in the expressive nature of the art form and its ability to work through and potentially minimise resistance (Emunah, 1995), a noted problem within both refugee and township contexts. In addition, drama has the unique quality of representing slices of life yet ensuring that they occur in a safe area. 'Drama is life depicted in a no-penalty zone. It looks like, seems like, but is not actuality' (Heathcote, 1991:130). In employing drama, life can be represented without fear of retaliation and the resistance to approaching 'difficult' topics can be lessened through the creation of a safe acting and presentation space.

1.5. The Literature Review

The literature studied before and during the process nurtured both the practice and the development of critical questioning and hypothesis. The bulk of the readings were articles and chapters associated with different styles of applied theatre occurring with and in refugee populations. Whilst reading specific case studies I examined the successes and failures associated with each project and questioned whether theatre was an appropriate medium for an inclusionary platform for refugees or an ambition with no lasting effect and little or no relevance.

Much of my literary search led me to abstracts containing key words associated with dramatherapy. My rudimentary understanding of the act of therapy is that its main purpose is to assist individuals with the act of 'living;' making it easier to cope with both physical and mental obstacles which may hinder happiness and/or the ability to adapt to society at large. I would assume then, that a large goal of therapy is to assist individuals in developing a sense of belonging. As such, literature on dramatherapy seemed to be an appropriate starting point for research on theatre intended as an inclusionary platform.

Phil Jones (1996, 2005) promotes dramatherapy for fostering integration and inclusion by suggesting methods of promoting communication and awareness of others. The act of 'play' is proposed for its safe ways of examining difficult situations and relationships; allowing patients the opportunity to re-examine stunted stages of development. This method is particularly useful in terms of negotiating trauma and post-traumatic stress disorder, a crucial issue faced by a large portion of the refugee population as well as individuals living in violent environments. He further suggests play as a useful method 'of learning about and exploring reality' (Jones, 1996:172).

Bernie Warren (1996:4) in discussing individuals with developmental disabilities, further endorses the notion of 'play' suggesting that theatre games, the usual warm-up in applied theatre, can help people to 'acquire the skills necessary to good social functioning – learning to accept and understand rules, control impulses, live with the accepted rules etc.' When suddenly forced to switch locations, as is the case with refugees, social functions can be disrupted and cultural rules and understandings challenged making 'play' a possible method for investigating rules. Another method promoted in the dramatherapy field is that of character enactment and role-play discussed in detail in Chapter 5.4.5.

Roger Grainger (1990), from a psychological standpoint, suggests that by acting out characters, integration is promoted by lessening one's preoccupation with self. He suggests that humans are always asking for permission 'to be' and in doing so constantly filter their own actions and whether or not said actions are suitable within certain situations. This is a normal human condition, yet in some cases the preoccupation can become obsessive and cause social withdrawal and fear or dislike of others. Through role-play participants are able to join a shared experience and feel for and accept other people by distancing themselves from self-preoccupation (Grainger, 1990:27).

Turning to specific case studies highlighting dramatherapy with refugees helps to add credibility to the question of whether or not drama is indeed a viable option for promoting integration and highlights possible avenues for further exploration. Cecile Rousseau's article (2007) *Classroom Drama Therapy Program for Immigrant and Refugee Adolescents: A Pilot Study* looks at the curbing of disruptive behaviour of refugee youth in Canadian school settings- behaviours which may be a direct result of post-traumatic stress disorder. The program, based on Augusto Boal's forum and Jonathan Fox's playback theatre, was intended to give immigrant and refugee youth a safe place to share and re-appropriate group stories 'in order to support the construction of meaning and identity in their personal stories and establish a bridge between the past and present' (Rousseau, 2007:454).

The study's findings, revealed through quantitative psychological and sociological assessments, illustrated that drama 'may have an impact on social adjustment of recently arrived immigrants and refugees' (Rousseau, 2007:454). Although behavioural changes were not great, the participants showed considerable change in their perceptions of their own post-traumatic impairments; decreasing the disorder's 'interference with friendships, home life, and leisure activities' (Rousseau, 2007:461). Madan's (2010 in Jones) *Saisir les étoiles: fostering a sense of belonging with children survivors of war* examined drama and art therapy as methods of promoting belonging with children largely effected by post-traumatic stress disorder and noted similar successes.

In a Norwegian context which sees many immigrants living in detention style settings whilst waiting on asylum status, Horghagen and Josephsson's (2010) *Theatre as liberation, collaboration and relationship for asylum seekers* examines the use of theatre as a method of occupational therapy; helping participants to learn skills needed for daily living. Again based on the principles of Augusto Boal, the outcomes saw theatre as a viable method for promoting integration by lessening depression, promoting relationships, breaking habitual, and potentially harmful patterns, as well as fostering feelings of control and self-esteem (Horghagen & Josephsson, 2010:174).

Refugee theatre also frequently appears as part of sociological studies promoting educational support, community building, social movements and development (Jeffers, 2012). One of the biggest names to promote drama as a means of community development and education is Augusto Boal whose work, as seen above, spans across dramatherapy and indeed all niches of Applied Theatre. Founder of *Theatre of the Oppressed* (1979), Boal's largely pedagogically based methods were greatly influenced by educator Paulo Freire (1970, 1992) and promote the freeing of audience through performance as well as active learning by placing education in the hands of the students as opposed to the teacher, a method borrowed from Freire. His teachings are often seen in the community theatre movement whose goal is the 'sociocultural empowerment of its community participants' (Van Erven, 2001:3) as well as in theatre for development, theatre in education and theatre as conflict resolution.

Boal is often noted as a starting point and practical influence in refugee theatre approached from a sociological standpoint as can be seen in the cases below. The majority of these projects deal with inclusion by examining social obstacles as opposed to mental restrictions and further widen the understanding of the capacity of theatre in promoting inclusion and integration. A common social barrier affecting refugee integration is that of language and as such many integration initiatives, both theatrically based and not, employ language acquisition techniques. Following Boal's principles of active learning, *Rewrite*, a charitable organization dealing creatively with refugee issues in the U.K., uses theatre for implementing active language acquisition. They have coined the educational method 'Creative ESOL' (English for Speakers of Other Languages) and use it to support youth's personal and social needs by developing language skills through access to the arts (Mallows, 2012). Endorsed by the British Council, the *Rewrite* program gives students 'a great leap forward with their language skills, confidence and integration into mainstream secondary school' (Rolls, 2010) indicating the program's positive contributions.

A London based initiative, '*Putting Yourself in Other People's Shoes*': the use of Forum theatre to explore refugee and homeless issues in schools (Day, 2002), adopts Boal's forum theatre to educate local youth on refugee issues. The goal of the workshops was to challenge student's

perspective and attitudes on and about refugees by inviting them to be spect-actors responsible for saving a refugee boy's life (Day, 2002). Although the research articulated a need for behavioural follow up, students claimed that interaction in the program helped to change their perceptions of refugees (Day, 2002:27). This case study is a rare instance when refugee theatre is approached from the host point of view and highlights host intolerance as a major obstacle preventing refugee inclusion. Case studies which include host populations are under documented yet provide great insight, showing in-depth understanding of intolerance and prejudice and how these behaviours may contribute to obstacles hindering refugee integration. This intolerance is witnessed throughout the globe spawning response from concerned citizens inspired to raise awareness of refugee issues. *Roma Refugee Youth and Applied Theatre: Imagining a Future Vernacular* (Gallagher, 2011) and *Staging Hidden Stories: Australian Theatre and Asylum Seekers* (Hazou, 2009) are two articles illustrating theatrically based social activist responses to refugee concerns occurring in Canada and Australia. Each program attempts to curve government policy through theatrical activism and highlight the government as yet another obstacle.

Occasionally intolerance between host and refugee can create tense and violent situations and require intervention in the form of conflict resolution. One such program to include both host and refugee in an inclusion initiative was the 2000/2001 United Nations/Amani Peoples Theatre collaboration in the Kakuma Refugee Camp. Amollo (2008) describes the program as an initiative to promote peaceful living between the local Turkana people and refugees from Southern Sudan. The refugees were viewed by the Turkana people as invaders taking resources and land in a harsh environment where there were few resources to take. Working with theatre and conflict resolution methodology, Amollo stresses the importance of dealing with the immediate crisis prior to tackling underlying issues and re-building relations (Amollo, 2008). He looks closely at relationship problems but does not rely on complex methods of theatre intervention. Instead he places greater emphasis on human interactions to lead the project. Amollo does not attempt to integrate refugees into the community but rather attempts to build a platform where both parties are able to co-exist and communicate.

The above examples paint a positive picture of drama being used for to promote integration and co-existence. However, I do not want to overlook instances where the use of theatre may have failed, been an unethical choice, or placed participants or community members in danger; as unsuccessful or controversial projects impart warnings which future facilitators should heed.

One program to fit this mold is the 'Child of War' program outlined by Allison Jeffers (2012). In this program refugee children were asked to tell their stories as a method of drama therapy; the stories were then brought together to form a play that was intended to bring awareness to influential audiences across the United States. When glancing at the program it appears to be

successful; the students attended dramatherapy classes and the production was highly publicised and praised. Jeffers' criticism of the project comes from the participant selection process; after interviewing 80 youths, participants were selected based on levels of traumatised. 'Participation in the project was not offered either to those who may not have been labelled as traumatised or who were considered too traumatised' (Jeffers, 2012:140). Further criticism suggests that students may have been chosen for their artistic skills as opposed to their welfare and that in only choosing moderately 'traumatised' youth, the director ran the risk of stereotyping all refugees as suffering from a mental disorder (Jeffers, 2012:140). This is where the program troubles me. Unintentionally it promotes stereotypes which are not only unfounded but also socially damaging. The psychological welfare of the 'chosen' youth was taken into consideration yet the program lacked sociological sensitivity; ignoring the complexities of refugee origin and the way in which people view others. Placing refugees into a mold of traumatised, helpless and weak has the potential of creating backlash or further burdening the refugee population to conform to fit to the mold. Reading of this program made me reflect deeply on my own work and to consider whether or not my actions were for the betterment of the individuals or what I perceived to be their betterment. It generated awareness of my own stereotypes and how damaging they could be to the research if left unrecognised.

Applied theatre happening in potentially dangerous situations calls for heightened ethical consideration. Theatre being used across occupied Palestine often attempts to break enforced structure and liberate people from social and physical oppression and into empowerment. In her 2012 article entitled *The Cultural Intifada Palestinian Theatre in the West Bank*, Erin B. Mee discusses youth theatre being used as 'an attempt to reverse cultural ethnic cleansing and the de-culturation of people living in the Jenin Refugee Camp' (Mee, 2012:170). Freedom Theatre is globally known for its fight against the Israeli occupation and the struggle to free both actors and audience of cultural colonisation. Yet it is by no means a safe environment for either actors or audience. In 2011 director 'Juliano Mer Khamis was shot five times by an as-yet-unidentified gunman and killed' (Mee, 2012:174). The efforts of Freedom Theatre appear noble, yet raise the question of whether putting actors (especially youth) in potentially dangerous situations is an ethical decision.

James Thompson's (2009) publication *Performance Affects: Applied Theatre and the End of Effect*, leaves readers with a cautionary tale. In his chapter 'Incidents of Cutting and Chopping,' he speaks about a theatre program that he facilitated in Sri Lanka rehabilitating child soldiers who had once been forced to fight with the Tamil Tigers. Two months after the program had finished, the local Sinhala village (Thompson, 2009:28) turned on the camp killing '27 Tamil boys and young men' (Thompson, 2009:15) whom they accused of planning and provoking attacks. The reasons for the attack remain speculative; however, it was noted that villagers

feared relations between the boys and local women, resources were a major concern and an opinion that the Tamil 'terrorists' were being treated favourably (Thompson, 2009:29) created hostilities from the host community.

When examining theatre in environments that could house the potential for violence, this is an important study to consider. It presents the argument that facilitators must be fully aware of the environment which they are entering. This environment includes not only the participants but the community which surrounds and 'welcomes' them. The native population, the political affiliations, the stereotypes and cultural beliefs all constitute important roles in the program whether these roles are the intended focus or not. This would even include the dramatic approach to the programs, which could either create empathy or hatred of a group. For example, activist theatre, as seen in Canada and Australia may seem extremist or ungrateful if implemented in the wrong environment or at an inappropriate time (after 9-11 for example). Social activist theatre does have the potential of liberating the 'oppressed' refugee by highlighting and educating people on their plight but does it not also pose the risk of upsetting the 'inhospitable' host, thus potentially making the situation worse?

A critical review of the literature would indicate a widespread perception that applied theatre is an important means of promoting social inclusion in many communities. Through the use of theatre, psychology and sociology, programs throughout the globe have had positive effects on the refugee population and deserve further research and consideration. This literature review also highlights the importance of social understanding and consideration. It stresses the significance of respect and inclusion of the host community and illustrates possible dangers caused by their exclusion.

The conclusions found in light of the research will be the basis of the study to follow. The study on refugee 'inclusionary' drama will be approached by looking at the relationships between host and refugee as well as the facilitator's role in the programming. The review points out the importance of ethical considerations, awareness of stereotyping and minimising of potential dangers. Although the goal of this study is the creation of a program which assists refugees, the literature has heightened my understanding of the social implications of such programs and my interest in the relationship dynamics occurring in the resettling process.

1.6. The Research Participants

The participants in this study were from two social settings. The first group were members of the Sibanye Youth Club in the Township of Imizamo Yethu. The participant's ages ranged from 15 to approximately 30 and numbered around 20 regular attendees, mainly of Xhosa descent. The group has approximately 70 members who come on a voluntary and somewhat sporadic basis.

The second group of participants, asylum seekers and refugees enrolled in English lessons at the Scalabrini centre in Cape Town, agreed to take place in the drama program once a week in order to advance their language and social skills. Although attendance was not constant, 6 participants were considered regulars. Their ages ranged from mid-twenties to late fifties and their origins were of Congolese, DRC, Somalian and Tanzanian descent.

1.7. Background Information

This multicasestudy focused on refugees and hosts from different regions of Cape Town. In seeking to understand why xenophobia was occurring in the community and how it could be diminished, theatre methods were implemented to gather information and to provide viable solutions. The information obtained fell into three groupings: perceptual, demographic, and theoretical. This information included:

- Perceptions of themselves, their communities and those around them; including perceptions of social interactions.
- Demographic information concerning the participants, including age, gender, ethnicity, amount of time in South Africa (refugees), amount of time lived in I.Y. (youth), and living conditions.
- The theoretical backing emerged from an ongoing review of facilitation journals, multimedia sources and pertinent literature.

1.8. Overview of Research Design

The following list condenses the stages used to execute the research. Chapters 4 and 5 give a more detailed description of the research design.

1. Preceding the fieldwork projects and data collection, project proposals were written for each accommodating organisation. The proposals required a review of literature on and around applied theatre practices, refugee policy, education, xenophobia theory and contextual understanding.
2. Following proposal approval, potential research participants were sought after. In the township this was done in person as the program was explained verbally to participants, and in the refugee centre it was achieved through flyer distribution and verbal description.
3. Workshops were conducted once a week on Wednesday afternoons for two hours at James House, Imizamo Yethu and once a week on Friday afternoons for two hours at the Scalabrini Centre.
4. Interviews were conducted with the participants following each lesson and data collected through note taking which would be transcribed into a reflective journal.

5. The James House program culminated with the performance of a play generated by the workshop process for invited guests. These guests were primarily family members and were offered snacks provided by the University of Western Cape; a customary practice in a South African event. By providing food, especially in a township setting, one can guarantee an audience. However, one must also be aware that the audience may show up on mass for the food with little regard for the project. This, in turn, is why the event was by invitation only. The Scalabrini program ended with a graduation ceremony, also providing food, where one of the participants voluntarily performed.

1.9. Data-Collection Methods

The data for this study was obtained through processes of journaling, interview, multimedia and document review. By using multiple methods of data collection the study attempts to create an in-depth understanding of both the causes of xenophobia and whether or not the dramatic arts can play a role in inclusion and the lessening of xenophobia.

The reflective journal was selected as the major source of data-collection for this study. Following each lesson I would document the process, outcomes, obstacles, articulated opinions and my own personal feelings. The journal assisted in clarifying the research design by making the data visible and relatively transparent (MacNaughton, 2001). The journal allowed me to go back to the research and clearly examine the decisions made during the process and to build a hypothesis from those examinations. The research was primarily facilitation-based and therefore I was the main 'instrument' of data collection. Participant journaling as a source of data was not considered due to language and literacy restraints and the fear of alienating participants.

In conjunction with the journaling process, interviews were conducted as an effective way of collecting the opinions and perspectives of the study's participants. Following each lesson, I would lead group interviews questioning the exercises, thought processes and emergent feelings. I would take notes directly after the discussions in order to avoid the formality that in-session documentation creates. The interview was used as an 'attempt to understand the world from the subject's point of view, to unfold the meaning of people's experiences, to uncover their lived world' (Kvale, 1996:1). In the context of this study, where limited writing skills can create barriers, interview was perceived as a more inclusive method over survey or participant journaling. Although interview can be skewed in the sense that not all members of the group choose to talk, it does allow the opportunity for discussion and illustrates participant development; meaning that as the project progresses, more inclusive interviews become indicators or markers of behaviour change.

Due to ethical considerations the use of multimedia was only utilised in the township setting. Here, photographs and video documented performance, commentary and theatrical process. This style of data-collection was crucial to the understanding of interaction and opinion. Not only does video document what is being said, but it also preserves nonverbal behaviour for further examination. One drawback of video documentation is its intrusiveness and thus it was used primarily during group presentations and performances. Photographs were taken in a similar manner.

Some of the workshops resulted in drawings and written documents which became part of the data collection and dissemination process. These documents were collected with consent from the participants.

1.10. Methods for Data Analysis

The process of data analysis was initiated by assigning codes according to themes, categories and descriptors. Journals and interviews were coded by assigning colours to various categories and themes whereas coding in video footage and documents was achieved by using the qualitative research software, Nvivo.

The coding helped to highlight emergent details and themes which were then categorised and compared against literature regarding xenophobia, theatre intervention, and refugee studies in order to produce hypothesis and recommendations for future practice.

1.11. Ethical Considerations

Voluntary cooperation was the premise of participant recruitment. In both projects research proposals were written and presented to the organizations accommodating the groups. Informed written consent was achieved prior to project implementation.

Secondary consent was obtained from participants in the form of verbal agreement and participants' rights and interests were considered of key importance throughout the data-collection and dissemination stages. The names of all participants were kept confidential and video and photograph were not able to be used without signed written consent.

1.12. Limitations of Study

Intended as a method of social inclusion, the two groups were unable to physically interact. Although bringing the groups together may not have triggered problems, the possibility for verbal and violent backlash must be noted and became increasingly apparent as the study progressed with 'other' related deaths occurring in both communities. As a researcher with the participants' safety and best interests in mind, the joining of the two groups was never a

consideration. This, in turn, created difficulties in documenting the effect of drama as a method of social integration but advanced the study's facilitator focus.

Furthermore, the final presentation in the township setting had space and community behaviour concerns (a fear that uncontrollable individuals would attend for free food but not appreciate and respect the performances). Therefore, attendance was on an invitation only basis. This may have lessened concerns regarding outbursts; however, it essentially excluded most foreign nationals from attending the performance as invitations went to youth participant's family members. Thus, the final performance cannot be considered a test of community inclusion. However, this research, as mentioned, is processed based and therefore the final presentation was not my major concern but rather a fun way of ending our program.

Another limitation was noted as attendance issues. In the refugee population many obstacles could prevent participants from attending lessons, making it difficult to follow progress. In the township setting, the same occurred; however, a key group of participants had near perfect attendance, thus reducing the limitation in the second context.

Chapter 2: Integration Issues between Refugee and Host; Thwarting our Song.

2.1. Introduction:

The forced migration of people across the globe has become an ever increasing and economically draining phenomenon. This movement ultimately costs the 'home' countries as they lose large portions of their workforce, the countries of refuge as they attempt to house the forced migrants and the international community whose donations to UNHCR make up the bulk of their US\$5.3 billion budget used to assist refugees (UNHCR, 2013). 2012 saw an increase in warring situations throughout the globe resulting in an astonishing 7.6 million newly displaced people (UNHCR, 2012:2). Although not necessarily recognised as refugees, economic displacements continue to force migration, as well as environmental disasters and climate change.

Whatever the reason for displacement, asylum seekers face the difficult task of attempting to resettle and engage themselves into a new culture and society. The following chapter looks at integration issues for refugees living in host communities. It examines problems faced by the refugee population, with specific focus on refugees to South Africa, as well as examining reasons for the host population's rejection of said refugees.

2.2. The Who's who of Immigration

When examining global migration and immigration, individuals become grouped in order to explain their position in society. Media, government and the local community place labels on migrants with respect to their legality, purpose for relocation and duration of stay. Often these terms are used interchangeably, categorising immigrants as one and the same; however, the distinctions gain importance when considering international law where receiving the 'wrong' label can mean the difference between life and death for individuals fleeing persecution in their home countries.

In order to clarify the terminology used within this paper, I will take this opportunity to explain the distinctions between migrant classifications and what these classifications may mean for someone who is seeking refuge in another country. These terms are primarily borrowed from the United Nations and International Migratory Law.

The majority of migrant participants in this study are classified as asylum seekers despite actually being 'refugees.' Due to complications in the South African immigration process, which will be discussed later in this chapter, many face difficulties receiving their official status. In this study, you will see me refer to the participants by both terms. The term migrant refers to 'any person who lives temporarily or permanently in the country where he or she was not born, and has acquired some significant social ties to this country' (UNESCO, 2013). However, in some

countries a migrant may also refer to an individual who has relocated within their own country from Province to Province or State to State (UNESCO, 2013). This individual is also classified as one who has moved freely without intervention and for reasons classified as personal convenience (UNESCO, 2013). An immigrant is also a person who has relocated, yet one who has crossed international borders with the intention of remaining (Merriam-Webster, 2013). A forced migrant (the primary focus of this paper) is an individual who is forced to move due to armed conflict, political, economic, or environmental reasons. This term is also closely linked with the term 'forcibly displaced people' which is used by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) to describe some 45.2 million individuals displaced throughout the globe (UNHCR, 2012:2).

When a forcibly displaced person does not cross international borders they are labelled as an Internally Displaced Person (IDP) but if they manage to cross those borders their label changes. An individual who does not seek governmental protection nor follows any legal attempt at settlement is termed either an illegal immigrant or illegal migrant and face the risk of deportation and/or jail time. Those who follow the legal route are usually called an asylum seeker. Asylum-seekers are individuals who have sought international protection and whose claims for refugee status have not yet been determined (UNHCR, 2012:25). Both international and state-law play a role in who is or is not permitted refugee status. Additionally, the treatment of individuals in the asylum seeking process varies from state to state with some being received but forced to reside in detention centres to others who are able to live freely in society with ongoing support from the governments of refuge.

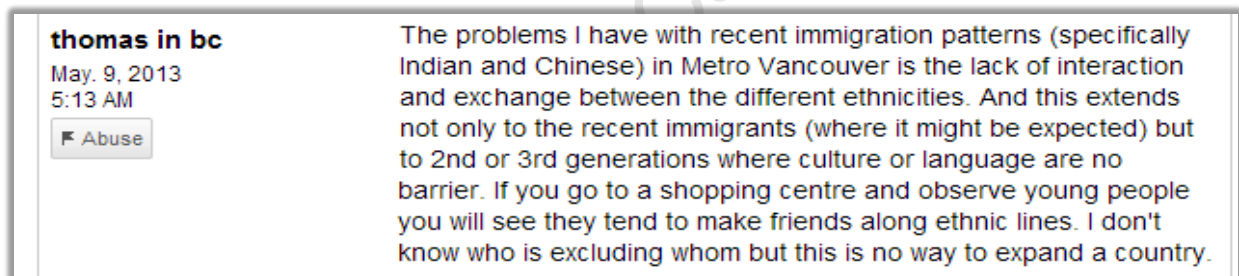
The asylum process is one of the most stressful for migrant populations; the 'wrong' result could mean deportation back to the country of origin or a re-application which may take many months, or in some cases, years. Refugee status is primarily granted based on the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees. Under the guidelines a refugee is defined as someone who 'owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country.' Further amendments to this definition are contained in the UN's 1967 Protocol and the in regional documents which may contain status recognition based on economic, environmental and political unrest (Jeffers, 2012).

For the purpose of this paper I will be referring to the locals who receive migrants as 'the host'. Although they themselves may technically be migrants, having travelled from various locations around the country- as nationals they hold the rights of citizenship and thus fall under the terminology of host or host nation.

2.3. Integration Issues

It is almost inevitable that asylum seekers will face obstacles when entering a country of refuge. Personal, political and environmental issues can affect their status recognition as well as their attempts to integrate into the host society. On a personal level, it is estimated internationally that nearly 30% of asylum seekers have suffered some form of torture in their countries of origin with the majority of all asylum seekers suffering from depression (Cohen, 2008). As such, suicide rates are heightened and self-ostracism becomes a major concern. When refugees and asylum seekers find themselves living within the host community, group segregation can also occur. In almost any city in the world, we can see groupings of foreigners unable or unwilling to integrate into the population; often the issue is due to language barriers, yet, in some contexts, the barriers may be cultural and/or religious. This does not go unnoticed in the host community: turning to social media to back this argument it was easy to find opinions regarding foreigners living in host populations and their inability to integrate. In the Canadian context seen in Figure 1, an article on immigration policy led to a heated debate in the comment section; this being one of the more civil arguments:

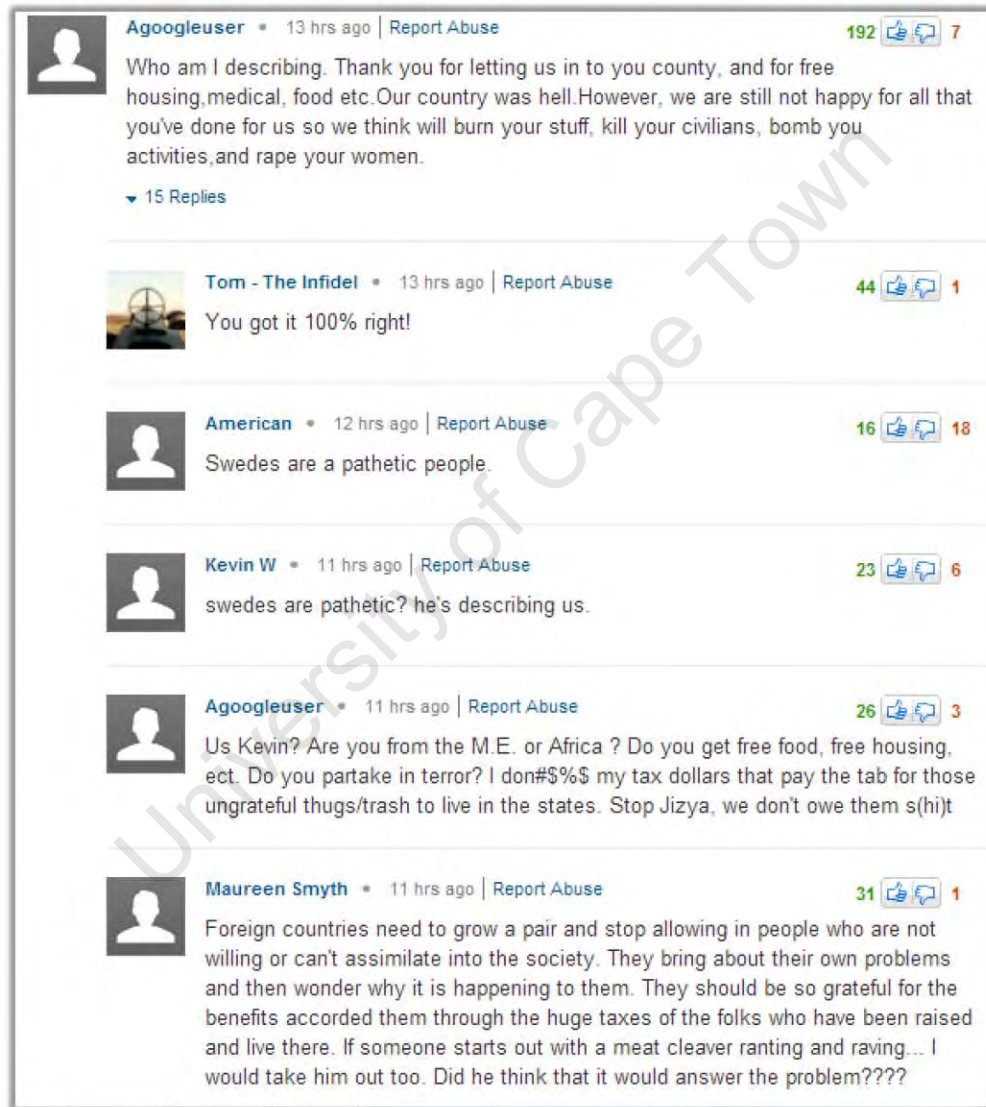
Figure 1:



(Scoffield, 2013)

Further issues arise when foreign groupings find themselves in socially disadvantaged situations. Due to affordability, they often settle in impoverished and violent neighbourhoods (Rousseau & Drapeau, 2004) which can lead to incidents of gangsterism, illegal activity and renewed violence. The presence of foreigners grouped in certain, often impoverished, neighbourhoods helps to feed the stereotype that with asylum seekers crime, violence, and even terrorism will follow. In an American (unedited) newsfeed, describing protests occurring in Sweden against the treatment of immigrants, the general opinion of the foreigner was clear:

Figure 2:



(Shanley, 2013)

Although refugees may bring personal problems with them, making attempts at integration difficult, the host community struggles with welcoming said migrants whose outbursts are often over a growing sense of alienation (Griffith & Leonard, 2002:93). Figure 2 highlights an over-

emphasis on the responsibilities and the roles of refugees but fails to recognise any responsibility associated with host. It is suggested that refugees should be thankful for all of the 'hand-outs' they receive and do not possess the right to any opinion. These comments are based on misinformation and, in commenting, only manage to further perpetrate an overabundance of negative stereotypes.

The media itself feeds negative opinions of foreigners. One study in the UK looked at stories in 161 local newspapers and 'found that only 6% cited positive contributions by asylum seekers and refugees' (Griffith & Leonard, 2002:94). In the newsfeed above the apparently 'native' Agoogleuser is passionately against refugees stealing 'tax dollars', receiving free housing and a host of other perks but fails to comment on their positive contributions to society. Whether this vehemence is fired by envy, racism or another factor is unknown but his misinformation on refugee policy is clearly feeding his opinion of foreigners; an opinion, which should be noted, that is held by at least 192 other readers. Sadly, there are hundreds, if not thousands of newsfeeds like this across the internet.

2.4. Integration Issues for Refugees in South Africa

Every country holds different immigration policies, political contexts, and religious beliefs, therefore integration issues may vary. This section will focus on the country in which the study occurred: South Africa, with further focus on Cape Town. Although similar issues may be seen across the globe, South Africa, with its turbulent history, is a potentially unique case with extreme social concerns that may not be seen elsewhere. Unlike many countries on the African continent, South Africa does not have an encampment policy which sees asylum seekers received into refugee camps where they have some, albeit limited, assistance from the UNHCR. Conversely, refugees in South Africa are expected to live in the main urban centres (Khan, 2007) and integrate into the local community in order to live. Those who are discovered entering illegally, charged with a crime or are in possession of illegal documentation may find themselves in detention centres or jails where they wait for their deportation which can take extended lengths of time.

Many asylum seekers find themselves in these centres over illegal or expired documentation. Documentation of refugees is under the jurisdiction of Home Affairs (Khan, 2007). With South Africa having one of the highest number of asylum claims in the world at 61,500 in 2012 (UNHCR, 2012:3) and only 3 operating refugee reception centres (Seekers, 2013), the queues for documentation are excessive and the backlog immense. Refugee regulations state that asylum seekers will receive their determination 180 days after the receipt of application but this is not happening in the case of South Africa (LRC, 2013); leaving asylum seekers vulnerable to deportation, and unable to access essential services such as health care, education and employment. 'Under the 2002 Immigration Act, police or immigration officers may remand

people to custody without a Warrant if they have reasonable grounds to believe they are not entitled to be in the Republic of South Africa' (Landau & Segatti, 2009:10); this includes people waiting in queue to apply for asylum status.

In recent years the acquisition of asylum papers has become more challenging in the Western Cape due to the closure of the refugee reception centre in 2012. The centre was allegedly closed over the termination of the property lease agreement and an inability to find an alternate site (*Scalabrini Centre v Minister of Home Affairs*) yet rumours suggest that this was a method of lessening the number of refugees receiving their status in South Africa as the centre in Port Elizabeth was closed due to similar circumstances. The centre in Cape Town still arranges the renewing of asylum papers, which is a regular bi-monthly process, but no longer accepts new applicants. Any refugee who reaches Cape Town as their port of arrival is forced to travel 1500km to the closest refugee centre, making it nearly impossible for those under financial strain and/or health issues to make the journey. Further issues at home affairs arise over safety as hundreds of vulnerable asylum seekers wait in a line at any particular time, becoming the targets of theft and violence. The line is further targeted by conmen dressed like officials and asking money of those waiting in line in order to 'process their papers'; money which is never to be seen again.

If an asylum seeker is able to obtain an asylum permit, their problems are not solved. The paper which they receive is printed on an A4 sheet of paper, 'markedly different from documents issued to South Africans or permanent residents' (Khan, 2007). Although the papers do permit certain rights, many South Africans in private and public sector are not aware of their authenticity and brush them off as being forgeries. The document's appearance also enables prejudice; as producing an asylum permit often decreases chances for employment access, education and healthcare (Khan, 2007) and can create circumstances of exploitation as those with asylum papers are often paid less than locals in the same position.

South African government policy is less than welcoming to the asylum seeking population. This negative sentiment emulating from the government cannot help but filter into the greater population where it becomes one of the major driving factors of xenophobia in South Africa and another issue facing refugee integration.

2012 saw at least 140 foreigners killed and 250 injured across South Africa (Landau, 2013). In 2013, the violence has not been lessened seeing at least three major incidents reported each week (Landau, 2013). The fear of both xenophobic violence and prejudiced verbal remarks become an everyday part of foreigner's lives in South Africa ultimately obstructing their integration process and pushing many into self-ostracism.

Studies aim to pinpoint the causes, suggesting that there are six major origins of the violence within South African society (Dodson, 2010:5). One, mentioned briefly above, is on a political level. Not only does government policy reflect a negative opinion of asylum seekers but the politicians themselves further aggravate the attitude:

Among senior government figures, right up to the three postapartheid presidents, attitudes toward foreign Africans in South Africa have been at best ambivalent and occasionally downright negative. Nelson Mandela himself, in a speech on the National Day of Safety and Security in 1994 just a few months after he had become president, stated, “the fact that illegal immigrants are involved in violent criminal activity must not tempt us into the dangerous attitude which regards all foreigners with hostility” (Dodson, 2010:7).

Speeches from influential political leaders further feed opinions of asylum seekers as being illegal and involved in violent activity. Even if intended with positive objectives the articulated stereotypes carry with them ‘othering’ and potential grounds for xenophobic sentiment.

A second basis for xenophobia, also found on a local political axis, is feasibly a direct result of post-apartheid rights acquisition. Apartheid legislation which saw a series of laws and acts imposed in order to segregate races and empower whites and the apartheid government, stripped blacks and non-white race groups of their rights and freedoms, including those associated with employment, citizenship, education, freedom of movement and land ownership. For Black South Africans the receipt of full rights and citizenship brought with it a jealous protection of said rights. As such, foreigners are seen as a threat towards stealing the rights of citizens. There is a misunderstanding of what rights are universal and/or reserved for citizens causing conflict within the communities (Murray in Dodson, 2010:6).

The question of who has the right to employment and resources causes much of the xenophobia in South Africa. This violence presented itself in 2008 when many foreign nationals found themselves victims of xenophobic attacks, the majority of which targeted foreign owned businesses. Many South African citizens see foreign Africans as competing with them for their jobs, resources and housing, (Dodson, 2010:5) an opinion which often results in violent seizures and/or destruction of property. In 2008 more than sixty foreign nationals were killed, hundreds injured and over 100 000 displaced in over 130 locations targeted in various parts of South Africa (LeGendre, 2011). Today, ‘most of the 2008 perpetrators remain on the street, some in houses they summarily “attached”, others in positions of authority or in businesses gained through violent appropriation’ (Landau, 2013).

The Social Political context also feeds xenophobia. Following apartheid national attitudes stressed a non-racial South Africa, where all South African were considered equal. This came

after decades, if not centuries, of enforced laws and structures designed to separate and differentiate between groupings based on race, tribal association or political affiliation and ultimately succeeded in distilling the concept of 'other' in people. In pushing for a society where *citizens* were to be equal a new 'other;' the foreign African was born (Dodson: 2010). Although the apartheid government has fallen, the structures are ingrained into the mindset of many and the behaviours of the past mirrored upon the new other.

Our xenophobic attitudes towards black foreigners, including refugees and asylum seekers, is born from intolerance of those we perceive as 'other' and reflects our inability to forge a dignified and constructive relationship with the rest of Africa. What we do to refugees is an indication of our inability to break with the colonialist thinking of the past and find our true home in Africa (Naicker & Nair, 2000:1).

Although this statement may create heated debate, as an 'other' I don't feel that I have the right to join in the debate. I have overheard many conversations which highlight South Africa as the 'advanced,' 'more civilized,' Africa. If I interject to speak from an 'African' point of view, (where I have spent many years) I am dismissed because I am not African. Perhaps this simply verifies the author's opinion. I would rather not say for fear of being excluded.

The final purported cause of xenophobia, and the focus of much of this study, is cultural stereotyping. I would argue that stereotyping is perhaps the major cause of racial tensions on a global level. With migrants coming from further away our understanding of their beliefs and practices are challenged. In a South African context, apartheid blocked black immigration to South Africa and thus prevented the majority of black South Africans from coming into direct contact with the rest of the continent (Dodson, 2010). As such, stereotypes of other Africans increased, many of which have been passed through generations.

Asylum seekers may also face violence from other refugees with in-fighting a noticeable problem. Conflicts between different nationalities may occur over 'limited resources, mutual mistrust and prejudice stemming from the past' (Naicker & Nair, 2000:3). Conflict also occurs between refugees of the same nationality where tension experienced in their countries of origin spills over into their countries of refuge. 'A typical example of this is the Somali community, which has about 15 tribes living in the Western Cape. These tribes blame each other for having to flee Somalia' (Naicker & Nair, 2000:3). Finally, conflict occurs within the refugee family unit, usually as a result of shifting power dynamics due to dislocation and loss of cultural identity. In particular, South African law calls for gender equality, which can create family tensions especially from those whose expectation of the female gender is based on a more 'traditional' interpretation (Naicker & Nair, 2000:3).

2.5. Integration: Scalabrini Centre

Xenophobic violence is the most extreme obstacle for asylum seekers to overcome, yet it does not affect all individuals. Observed in my own lessons, general opinion is that the hardest barrier for refugees to overcome is that of language acquisition. Without mastering a local language there is little hope of employment and social integration. Within the grouping there was a belief that when language is mastered and accents fade, one will be able to blend into the society and thus integrate. Many of the participants were single males who had traveled to South Africa alone; some leaving families behind while others not. When refugees travel alone and hold little knowledge of the local language they face the risk of self-ostracism which can be as equally damaging as xenophobic violence. 'Absence of intimacy with others produces a host of negative psychological consequences, including depression, anxiety, stress and physical and mental illness' (Williams, 2001:61). Although language acquisition alone cannot prevent social ostracism, the progressive act of taking lessons, especially in a group environment, helps to prevent this from occurring. Whether the lessons are in English, sewing or drama, the act of doing helps refugees from falling into destructive patterns of ostracism and depression. The Scalabrini centre holds many lessons and workshops helping to build a community within the refugee population. They do their best to assist in the relocation process; however, if the host is unwilling to accept the foreign national population, there will always be a barrier against true integration. Once mastering English, the refugees sadly realise that English is only one barrier preventing social inclusion.

2.6. Welcoming Issues for Hosts in South Africa

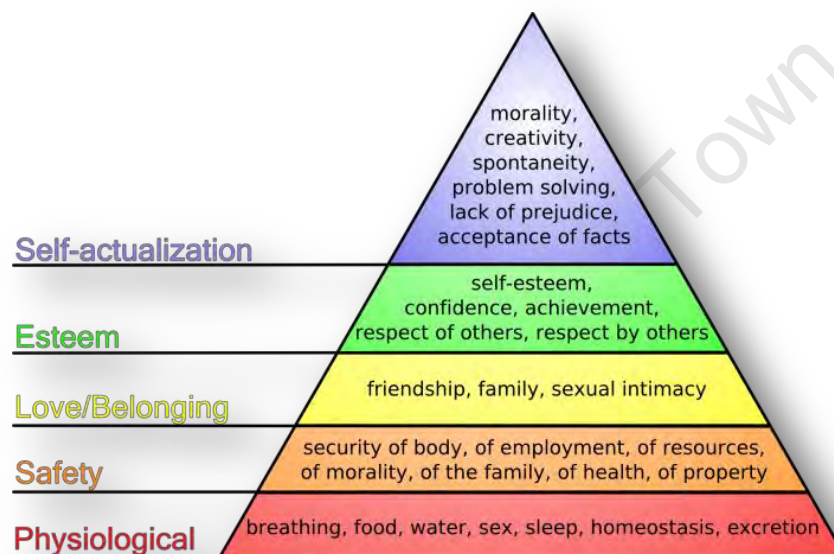
Refugees are often stereotyped as being weak victims; however, a weak person would not move thousands of miles, face a different culture, language and the potential of more violence in order to obtain a safer and economically sound state of existence. Instead, that would describe a strong individual who manages to survive despite difficult conditions. Many refugees are well educated, and some political activists forced to flee because of their state opinions (Naicker & Nair, 2000). The image of the weak refugee is a barrier that could create issues in the host community, as attempting to oppress those who have already fought oppression could promote backlash.

As hosts we expect our guests to behave in certain ways and when they deviate from our expectations we see them as breaking their position in society (Jeffers, 2012). A refugee who does not fit the stereotypical 'refugee mold' becomes problematic. Their drive and desire to do better becomes competitive and places locals, who feel they have the right to employment, in competition for jobs and resources. In a country like South Africa which has a 25.2% unemployment rate (Statistics South Africa, 2013), this competition is enough to cause

tensions. When there are simply not enough jobs for South African citizens asking them to share with any outsider is a tough request, especially when foreigners are better skilled and willing to work for less.

Theory explaining these issues can be found in psychologist Abraham Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (1943) and its comparison to xenophobic theory. It is not hard to see why the local, most often underprivileged, population finds it difficult to accept refugees and other immigrants into their communities.

Figure 3:



Human needs start from the very basic, which are seen at the bottom of the scale. If these needs are not met, it is impossible to progress up the scale and to reach higher levels of happiness. I would argue that in a country where crime is rampant, rape stands at one of the highest percentages on the planet, unemployment is prevalent, and H.I.V. and other health concerns are widespread, most South Africans are trapped in the second stage. If safety is not met, one is unable to focus on the higher levels of happiness which includes the respect of others.

The refugee population is equally guilty of stereotyping South Africans; especially those living in impoverished conditions. Without fully understanding the after effects of apartheid, stereotypes of laziness and unwillingness to be educated become popular sentiments held against, mainly black, South Africans. Further stereotypes include the opinion that all South Africans are criminals, which seems to be a common misconception held against both parties. When these opinions are maintained against each other the situation becomes tense and

violence can erupt from either party at any time in a cycle of blame. If we react to labels and stereotypes, as is suggested by symbolic interaction theory, we may be inflicting punishment upon those who we perceive as enemies as opposed to those who are actually guilty of a crime.

2.7. Community Concerns: Imizamo Yethu

Within the scope of safety, a major concern for South Africans is property and in many communities overcrowding is a serious issue. Even without migrants pouring into township communities, space is scarce and property valuable. Half of this study took place in Imizamo Yethu, a township on the outskirts of Hout Bay. During the apartheid regime, Hout Bay was classified as a white only community which showed considerable growth during the 1960s. Along with the community's growth came a need for domestic workers. With no formal settlement allowed in Hout Bay, squatter camps formed around the community (Roth, 2011:35). Following a fire in one squatter camp, pressure was placed on the government to create a settlement for the ever growing migrant worker population (Roth, 2011).

Established in 1991 as an informal settlement for black South African domestic workers and fishing labourers, Imizamo Yethu was originally planned to house 455 squatter households on a plot of approximately 18 hectares of land (Harte, 2008). Originally planned with roads, sanitation systems, and community facilities, I.Y. grew so rapidly that it became an informal settlement void of almost all services and amenities (Roth, 2011). Now, with a population of anywhere between 12,000 to 16,000 people, it has become the home of many South Africans and foreign nationals alike (Mercer, 2008). The population is primarily made up of Xhosa speaking people from the Eastern Cape who came to Cape Town as migrant workers (Harte, 2007). However, the community is also well known for its large foreign national population which, consequently, has been to subject of much debate. The steady and immense growth of I.Y. is due, in part, to the seemingly abundant opportunities for employment within the Hout Bay fishing and forestry industries as well as prospects of tax-free low income housing (Elliot, 2007:150).

The extreme population has created overcrowding, pollution and high unemployment rates with estimates at between 40 and 60% (James House, 2011). In 2006, overcrowding and unsanitary conditions led to a governmental declaration that Imizamo Yethu was a health disaster (Elliot, 2007:150). The community struggles with housing needs, high crime levels, HIV infection rates and substance abuse (Hout Bay Christian Community Association, 2011), creating many tensions within and between the different sections of the community. Unique in its structure, I.Y. is made up of four distinct areas 'The Formal (planned housing) areas, the informal (unplanned housing) area, the green "buffer" zones and the protected area reserved for future development' (Roth, 2011:35). Adding to the congestion, it is said that foreign

nationals have built their informal homes within the buffer zone located between the squatter style dwellings and the wealthy neighbourhoods of Hout Bay.

2.8. Integration of Study Concerns

The portion of the study occurring in Hout Bay was initiated by the University of the Western Cape. The mandate was threefold; originate new knowledge on issues being faced within Imizamo Yethu, enhance community dialogue, and present a play. Conversely, my research at the Scalabrini centre was by my own proposal indicating English drama as a method of fostering inclusion for refugees. Both projects and mandates will be discussed in Chapters 4 and 5; however, before you read about the process I would like to highlight a difficulty. Like the host and refugees struggling to interact, the question of how the projects were interacting was a concern. How could two projects where participants never meet be considered a comprehensive study on drama for inclusion? Furthermore, how could a project focused on only young South Africans promote social inclusion? The methods seemed to align more towards theatre for development. But then it struck me, drama for inclusion is theatre for development. Like my fellow Canadian Marshall McLuhan once said 'The medium is the message.' The barriers preventing interaction between host, refugee and facilitator in one space at one time makes for complex associations; a 'round-about' way to social inclusion becomes a solution to assist in community development.

Referring back to the song presented at the beginning of this dissertation, picture the three parties as singers and 'drama' as the song. We may not sing in unison but we are brought together in harmony by the song itself; we listen, repeat, react and present. The song has the ability to forge relationships, promote change, and enlighten us to the fact that the other participants may sound different but they are actually singing to the same beat as we are.

Chapter 3: Facilitator; The Fish and Chips and Vinegar...

If I were to sit down in a café in Toronto, preferably a more artistic and outgoing neighbourhood, and started singing *Fish and Chips and Vinegar...* I would wager that before long someone would start singing the second stanza and, with a little luck, the third would commence soon after. As much as the song is about working together and forming unity, it also requires a lead, someone who is willing to start the process and to decide when the time is right to start singing.

The following chapter is about the facilitator, the individual who begins the song or the drama program, as the case may be. The chapter examines my dual role as facilitator in the township and refugee contexts examining techniques and process. It looks at methods of instigation, execution and dissemination used in order to enable the round-about style of project facilitation and concludes by presenting the reader with recommendations and warnings about this style of facilitation.

3.1. Where it all begins

If I were to begin singing in a café of which I had no background knowledge, I may encounter a problem. Not all cafes are welcoming of artistic types spontaneously singing random rounds. Not only might they decline to join in, but there is a chance that I may also be removed from the premises for disturbing the peace. With that said, that same café may welcome me if I informed them ahead of time that I, a master round performer, was holding an evening of the 'round.' Instead of seeing it as a disturbance it may be viewed it as an artistic encounter and opportunity.

In our drama context the 'facilitator, sometimes called the practitioner (or in school, the teacher), is someone who has the necessary education, background and artistic skills to lead a group that is often relatively unskilled in dramatic process' (Prendergast & Saxton, 2013:6). The first responsibility of the facilitator is to make an informed decision about where to place the work, what the community needs and how the program is going to be implemented. Often we see facilitators entering communities with no concept of what is happening in the space (I may have been guilty of this myself), with little or irrelevant training, pressing their opinions upon the participants instead of allowing the program to gather the information itself. Practitioners can find themselves inadvertently challenging cultural beliefs and philosophies not out of disrespect but because of lack of social inquiry. Examples of this can be seen in case studies examining the many teams of dramatherapists to have descended on Sri Lanka following the Tsunami of 2004. Many of the teams, intending to heal the traumatised victims, ended up looking at the non-responsive participants with pity; their lack of engagement an apparent indicator of the people not knowing what was best for them (Thompson, 2011:66). If the

facilitators had recognised that many Sri Lankans 'do not wish to talk lengthily about their distressing experiences and they consider it as a weakness, which brings shame socially' (Ranasinha, 2013:6), the programs may have held greater success.

Once a site of inquiry has been chosen, the responsible facilitator must then acquire and comprehend the background information which may include cultural, social, political and economic circumstances. They must understand where the participants are coming from, what their beliefs are, what they have lived through and what, if any, are their experiences with drama? If it is not possible to obtain this information prior to the study it should happen in the first few lessons through getting-to-know-you games and activities (Prendergast & Saxton, 2013:32).

3.2. How it all begins

We have already chosen a song (the round) and the place where the song will be performed, now we must pick a mode of delivery. I may choose the classical style of song delivery or spice it up by whistling the tune or by pulling out a guitar and strumming along. Each mode of delivery manages to portray the song, yet the subtle differences may change the timing, the participation levels and the reactions to the work.

Applied Theatre covers a vast array of genres and as such pinpointing one 'correct' style of facilitation is virtually impossible. A facilitator working with refugees teaching English as a second language is likely to approach the work differently than a therapist intending to address post-traumatic-stress in participants. The facilitator must decide whether to implement a clear technique outlined by past or experienced facilitators, a combination of many techniques or a new method designed for the particular program.

My own study saw a combination of many facilitation techniques, not wanting to push one over the other in an attempt to stay true to a grounded theory model. One influence on my facilitation style was Augusto Boal's facilitator/joker, a title described as a wild-card figure that can 'mediate between characters and audiences, comment critically on the narrative and, at certain points, intervene directly in the action' (Babbage, 2004:14). The joker is present to facilitate but not to control the events. Many of Boal's games were also implemented as methods of getting to know participants, build relationships and to introduce the groups to the use of drama. In my own experiences as a facilitator, I have found that many of these games help to engage participants in the process of drama in a non-threatening way. Even reluctant participants, seeing drama as something for children, take to the games relatively well, usually unaware of the dramatic principles they possess but drawn in by the excitement they emit.

As the projects progressed elements of Dorothy Heathcote's Mantle of the Expert (Moe) and Teacher In Role (TiR) were also employed. In the (Moe) approach students are placed in a position where they become the expert, the one who knows about a particular subject or branch of human knowledge (Heathcote & Herbert, 1985:173) while the teacher takes on a role which helps to facilitate this expertise; for example, an individual who has commissioned a project. This style of dramatic learning implements 'the contextual use of dramatic metaphor' (Heathcote & Herbert, 1985:173). The benefits of the system lies in its ability to forge communication between students and with teachers who work together as a collective unit as opposed to placing the power in the hands of one individual while promoting growth at 'conceptual, personal, and social levels' (Heathcote & Herbert, 1985:173). Teacher in Role or Facilitator in Role, as it is also referred to, is valuable because it 'enables facilitators opportunities *in-role-within-the-drama* to suggest alternative views, ideas and intentions that can move participants away from clichéd thinking and open them up to a broader creative palette' (Prendergast & Saxton, 2013:63).

Within this study, these methods should only be viewed as influences. I did not enter the workshops with a clear objective determining which style of theatre was going to be implemented. Sometimes I might use pure 'Boal' and other times it might be mixed with acting training. My facilitator style was a mix of techniques which developed out of the programs and through interaction with the participants. I entered each space with an understanding that theatre techniques were going to be implemented and allowed my training in education, drama, acting and English as a Second Language (ESL) to lead the projects whilst allowing social sensitivities, ethical considerations and social and psychological understandings to fill in the gaps. The reasons for working in this fashion were threefold:

- a) The study is on the use of drama as a method of promoting integration and inclusion, not on one style of applied theatre being used to promote inclusion. Thus, I felt that it was important to leave the realm of applied theatre open. In doing so, it allowed me to examine many types of drama and their usefulness in the space.
- c) Although I believe structure is important, I tend to lean on the side of pedagogical methods which promote open exploration and interactive learning. One goal of this study was to react to participant's desires and needs and to allow choice opportunity in the workshops. In order for this to occur I felt that it was also important to allow choice within my facilitating style.
- c) Although I had collected the necessary background information on the communities in which I would be working, I did not know with whom I would be working. I feel that in drama programming meant to promote inclusion, the collective group is important but so is each individual. Simply put, I was concerned about whether or not each individual would engage with the program. One thing that I did know about the participants is that they would be

joining on a voluntary basis. A volunteer is not tied to a study and therefore if the project is not seen as being either enjoyable or beneficial the risk of losing participants is heightened.

3.3. Getting the choir to sing; How to foster a fondness for drama

From the Latin *facilis*; meaning 'easy' (Latin Word List, 2013), the root of the word facilitator essentially sums up the role of the position; an individual whose job it is to 'make easy.' Yet, how does one make easy the task of integration and inclusion? At the onset of the project I was not yet worried about aspects of social inclusion but rather about student participation. The 'easy' method was chosen as drama but the obstacle was to convince participants of the value of drama; as without participants, the study would accomplish little in terms of research or benefit. Monica Prendergast and Juliana Saxton's (2013:2) definition of Applied Drama states that projects should engage both participants and facilitators in 'the Five Cs: Communication, Cooperation/collaboration, Concentration, Commitment and Caring.' The 5 C's provide a useful skeleton for explaining the study's facilitation process and underline how drama participation can be nurtured and developed through said process. I would, however, suggest moving the final C into the starting position. In this study, the act of caring became the driving force behind program appeal and participation. Although the word *facilis* is most commonly associated with the word 'easy,' it is also the Latin root for the words agreeable, affable and pleasant. As a facilitator my task is not only to 'make easy' but also to 'make enjoyable.' In doing so, I illustrate my capacity to care about the participants; building relationships which essentially make the study possible.

3.3.1. C Number 1: Caring

Caring about the Space

Caring is generally considered an act which is fostered through interactions, sensitivities and respect. However, a facilitator can also express a caring attitude through preparations of space. A golden rule of Applied Theatre is that the space chosen for project execution must be one 'in which people feel safe enough to take risks and allow themselves and others vulnerability' (Nicholson, 2005:129). The space is the first thing that participants see upon entering a project and therefore a significant means of first impressions. Simple spatial preparations can go far in fostering a safe, caring environment.

In this study, I worked in two spaces. In the township, I did not choose the space but rather entered into one regularly used for youth club meetings, music rehearsals and educational classes. It was a small portable building with books, a computer, a well-stocked refrigerator, and walls covered in posters promoting safe sex, abuse prevention hotlines and photos of past projects. Conversely in the refugee centre, I choose the largest room within the centre,

allowing for safe, unobstructed movement. The room was a hall void of any wall hangings or paintings with many usable chairs, a small stage, white boards and high windows which provided natural light but prevented curious onlookers who could minimise confidence within the space.

Ideally I would create a space which was inviting to participants and would help to advance workshops by filling it with visual imagery or project appropriate prompts. However, each of the spaces presented obstacles preventing this from occurring. In the township, I was not dealing with a neutral space. The room, our only viable option, belonged to the participants who had been using it for several years. For many, it was their home away from home and therefore changes to space were avoided due to the fact that I did not want to seem like an invading figure; I did not have the right to change the space. The refugee centre, on the other hand, posed a completely different problem. Here, we were all imported into the space which was a popular common room, for both formal and informal circumstances. The room needed to remain neutral ground within the centre and consequently could not be fixed with long-term postings.

In order to overcome these obstacles I would begin each lesson by entering the spaces with removable postings. In I.Y. I would hang an attendance sheet, allowing the students to check off their names as they entered as well as setting out all materials needed for the workshop. In Scalabrini I would organize chairs in a circle and write the main points of the workshop on the boards. In doing these simple tasks it was my intention to demonstrate leadership and dedication in order to welcome the participants to each workshop. The township setting posed an extra problem because of my 'outsider' status. Not only did I have to collect a key before each lesson, but I felt it important to receive verbal agreement from participants before making any changes to the space. As the workshops progressed this obstacle diminished and I was presented with my own key- a welcoming sign and a testament that taking the time to build a caring environment brings with it elements of trust and respect.

Emotional considerations were also fundamental in the creation of a safe and trusting drama environment. A space where 'people are prepared to express their opinions and feelings' (Prendergast & Saxton, 2013:33) needed to be nurtured through trust. This was by no means an instantaneous task and grew over time, nurtured through a caring environment which promoted full cooperation and collaboration.

3.3.2. C Number 2: Cooperation and Collaboration

The 5 C's of facilitation tend to intermix and feed off of one another. Physically ensuring a caring environment is significant but cannot alone foster a fondness for drama, the program or the facilitator. In order to effectively foster a space where the programs were accepted and

communication nurtured many facilitation techniques were combined; each grouped within a cooperative style of facilitation:

Co-operative: you collaborate with the group or the individual in devising the learning process. As facilitator, you share power/control and guide them towards becoming more self-directing by conferring with them. Together you would negotiate the outcomes, and whilst you would share your views, these would become one of many to be considered collectively (Coombs, 2008:4).

Working off of Paulo Freire's (1972) model of empowering students, the co-operative approach suggests participants and facilitator working together at a somewhat equal level of status. Here 'both students and teachers come to class at more than zero and less than zero at the same time' (Macrine, 2009:125); meaning that both student and teacher come with knowledge and with the ability to learn concurrently. The facilitator naturally still has an objective, but works with participants in order to meet it. Status dynamics and cooperation become crucial elements of the relationship building process leading up to classroom communication.

3.3.3. Status

An attempt was made to equal out status levels through choice opportunity, play, dialogue and social intelligence. In both contexts the process of neutralising status was not an immediate outcome taking several weeks, if not months, to accomplish.

Proposing choices for the project participants was a theory drawn from pedagogics Maria Montessori (1964) and John Dewey as well as psychologist Jean Piaget, each promoting choice opportunity due to its ability to self-regulate, motivate and create student-teacher respect (Lynch, 2010:4). In this study choice was encouraged by asking participants in the refugee centre to select the following week's topic, whereas, choice opportunity was fostered in the township through the selection of role-play themes as well as the themes intended for the final public performance.

Promoting of choice opportunity allowed participants control over their own learning. In the beginning the groups would require me to begin everything, as if requesting permission from the 'master' and permission for their actions. As the programs progressed and statuses were challenged, this conduct diminished and participants began to lead their own lessons. I could leave them alone to create scenes, warm-ups would start prior to my arrival and topics became more varied and truthful. Choice allowed for individuals to express their opinions and to realise that their opinions were valid and respected. It gave individuals permission to be individual, promoting emergence from collective thinking.

The act of play is fundamentally fused with elements of choice and also played a role in adjusting status levels and promoting drama to the participants. In the refugee centre play proved useful for its ability to make people think quickly without having time to second guess decisions. Here, I found that participants tended to overanalyse their responses due to a fear of being wrong. With English acquisition being a major goal of students and of the program, the desire to speak correctly often blocked the benefits of discussions and role-plays. Drama games and the act of play helped students to stop thinking and start doing. Furthermore, as a facilitator involved in the games, I had the ability to be on the same level as the participants and illustrate that I also make mistakes, but am able to laugh about and learn from these mistakes with no harm done.

In the township, play promoted attendance. The group needed little convincing of drama and its ability to foster social awareness as they often perform skits, musical numbers and dances. However, for them the drama games were new and attendance numbers illustrated that when games were employed there was more inclination to attend the workshops. For them, play was a fun way of escaping the realities of township life. Additionally, as suggested in Chapter 1, play assisted participants in acquiring social functioning skills. They quickly learned that if they did not follow the rules and control their impulses, the group would turn on them for ruining the game; a lesson significant to their everyday lives.

Activities promoting dialogue were primarily intended as methods of knowledge generation regarding participant's lives and their communities but transformed into significant methods of challenging status relations and societal stereotyping. Implemented throughout the process, the marker of success illustrating the benefits of this method occurred in the refugee population after a role-play leading to a discussion on foreigner treatment in South Africa and abroad. When similar experiences were shared about Cape Town between me as the foreign facilitator and the participants, the 'ice' was effectively broken and a mutual understanding prevailed. In the township context this marker was noted when we were creating timelines of crucial moments in our lives. Participants and facilitator created and presented timelines, assisting in equalisation of status. The timelines were drastically different but common factors emerged and a simple school ground experience became the common ground. Amongst roars of laughter I knew that the story of my first physical fight had disrupted their perceptions of me as 'conservative university student' which allowed stereotypes about me to be challenged.

Together the approaches combined to produce an environment where participants began to engage with the medium and cooperate and collaborate with each other and the facilitator. The acts of caring and cooperation are fused with social sensitivities helping to build trust and relationships based upon equal respect. Without this stage which focused heavily on the building of relationships, communication would not have been able to begin.

3.4. Communication in the round: Facilitating three part 'harmony'

In our round, getting participants to sing is probably the hardest part. Once they begin they must master their section of the song whilst singing with the other groups until a three part harmony is achieved. As a metaphor, this may sound relatively easy, but placing it in the context of our study presents massive challenges.

3.4.1. C number 3: Communication

In attempting to foster inclusion through drama and communication, fieldwork revealed that negative opinions of the other were not the only obstacles preventing this communication from occurring. In both contexts, the skills needed for communication were virtually absent. Likening the situation to our metaphor, if participants could not sing their song with each other, or even to themselves, there was no hope of them being able to sing with the choir.

In the township weak communication skills were observed in check-ins where participants, who were expected to speak about their past week, would answer with 'it was fine,' and in games which would end abruptly because listening skills were lacking. In the refugee context, participants struggled to articulate in English, which was to be expected, but also in speaking about their own opinions. They were able to talk on events, but questioning their opinions of those events would produce silence.

My next task as a facilitator was to assist participants with their communication skills. The skills under discussion were not yet skills in negotiating conversation with the 'other' but rather communication in a more general sense; the very basis of which comes from the fostering of self-awareness.

Drama as a method of nurturing and developing communication skills is a well-documented phenomena. Prendergast and Saxton (2013:3) emphasise the benefit of drama in the fostering of both verbal and non-verbal communication due to its ability to work with fictional situations in order to counteract communication constraints felt in the 'real world.' Helen Nicholson (2005:24) states that 'drama can take people beyond themselves and into the world of others,' enabling them to think, feel and see things differently. Ultimately, communication is an act which involves social involvement and input which, for many, can be a difficult, if not terrifying experience. Although cultural and hierarchical structures can affect the ways in which we communicate, lack of self-awareness may possibly constitute the largest barrier.

By entering the fictional world created through drama exploration, we may gain greater understanding of our own identity; a type of personal narrative constantly being 'extended and modified by the effect of the many other narratives – global and local - and experiences to which we are exposed' (Somers, 2008:3). Drama allows us to safely explore our reality without

the fear of being or doing wrong and in doing so allows us to examine who we really are and the decisions we make in our lives. Personal narrative allows us to reflect upon selections and ordering of our memories which become the signifiers of our identity (Somers, 2008:4). This self-reflection can help us to identify our defences, including those preventing us from speaking and communicating our thoughts and feelings, and help us to remove those defences, thereby promoting increased communication.

In addition to fostering self-awareness in the sense of social communication, role-play and exploration of personal and community narratives can help participants pinpoint memories and influences which may contradict personal values causing prejudice and stereotyping of 'others.' We can become regulators of ourselves by paralleling our existing behaviours to our inherent values and ethics (Duval, 1972).

Exercises which allowed for exploration of personal narratives were beneficial for garnering social information because they assisted in building communication skills. The social information collected reflected the opinions and feelings of participants including absences of human needs which, in turn, helped to explain social instabilities and provided a platform for discussion on and about the other.

3.4.2. C number 4: Concentration

Singing in a Round

Observing participants transforming into critical thinkers, collaborative workers and more tolerant communicators (Prendergast & Saxton, 2013:3) was a measure of success brought forth by drama exploration. In the fostering of (general) communication my role as a facilitator was to work from within and on as similar a status level as was achievable; promoting choice opportunity and student centred learning in order to foster collaboration, trust and communication. However, brought with me into every lesson was 'a gendered, historical self' (Denzin, 2001:325) which prevented value free judgements and neutral footing. I did not try to block these values but carried them into the environment, as did participants, eager to learn off of and from one another's opinions.

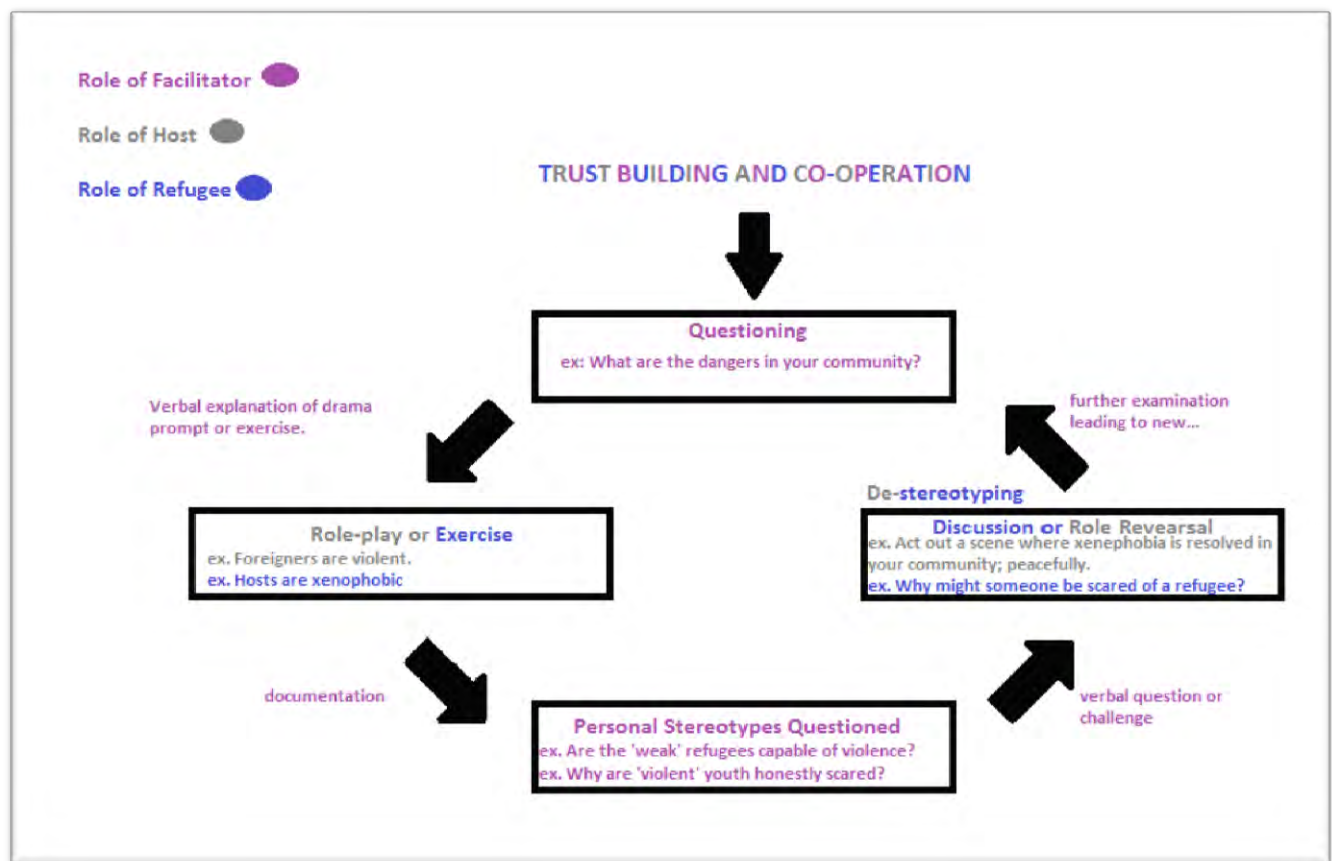
This can be seen as akin to the apprenticeship model still used in some professional training (or as a coach of a sports team), where a "master" works alongside and in tandem with a trainee/apprentice and mentors the learner into mastery of the form, whether it be a sport, woodworking, cake baking or dramatic processing (Prendergast & Saxton, 2013:4).

As a 'master' I brought to each lesson elements of theatre training and prompts which led to discussion and explorations of personal narratives. Yet as I regular person I also brought with

me my own ethics, values and stereotypes. My perspectives were not offered nor pressed upon participants but neither were they hidden. Together, as a collective unit we shared and explored opinions; theirs coming up when they formulated scenes and role plays and mine appearing as questions when requesting clarification or challenging accuracy. My role as facilitator was to be a concentrative listener (our fourth C) and questioner and when I was able to de-centre myself from the work and truly listen (Prendergast & Saxton, 2013:5), what I heard inadvertently created the round-about style of facilitation with each 'song' feeding into and off of the other until a continuous loop was created.

To explain this system with more ease, as a conscious listener I am able to take in a vast array of thoughts and feeling from verbal, environmental and observational language. Normally those thoughts would filter into research journals through the process of reflection. In this particular study, which saw two contrasting programs, the opinions not only fed into journals but also onto the other project through the vehicle of facilitator; in this case the facilitator delivers the message. By allowing myself to be open and responsive to the opinions of both groups and to consider their valued opinions, my own values, ethics and stereotypes were challenged prompting me to question my own thoughts and, through interaction, the contradictory thoughts of the other party. In essence the two groups were having a conversation through me. In this method the opinions are slightly softened by filtering through the facilitator. The opinions then reappear as questions in the opposing grouping making them easier to reflect upon, as opposed to when they are delivered as statements from the source, often seen as the aggressor. Figure 4 charts an example of how the round-about process functions.

Figure 4: Round-About Way of Facilitation:



Part of the ability to act as a mediator in this fashion comes from the very values instilled upon my historic self. Echoes of 'never judge a book by its cover,' 'judge and be judged' and 'listen or your tongue will keep you deaf' constantly permeate my thoughts, reminding me to be open to points of view and accepting of others despite pre-conceived notions. Bringing this mindset to the table allows me to be affected by other's opinions and open to discussion.

The same basic psychological characteristics exist in most humans. We learn through human interactions and are constantly affected by our observations of those with whom we interact (Blumer, 1969). We form an 'idea of how new behaviors are performed, and on later occasions this coded information serves as a guide for action' (Bandura, 1977:22). However, our social and historic backgrounds may change the way in which we interact and therefore each of us brings something different into the drama space; our morals, principles and values are passed, as are new behaviours which perhaps we had never considered. Drama is a medium which allows us to experiment with these new behaviours. Therefore, through interaction and drama exploration participants are able to learn new behaviours which can be considered, if not

implemented, in future interactions; including interactions leading to stereotyping, social withdrawal and violence.

The benefits of the round-about style of drama for inclusion are sociological, positively affecting the way in which we act with 'others,' and physical. Although violence may never have been a threat to these two groups, the possibility exists. Going into the projects, I did not know the groups well enough to ensure that topics and comments would not turn into violent reactions. This method ensures that that will not happen.

This style of facilitation needs further research; I wouldn't recommend taking it as an exact method, nor can I guarantee positive outcomes. As with all applied theatre techniques, each one has its merits and challenges. This style requires social sensitivity brought forth from self-awareness and knowledge of one's historic self. Both facilitator and students must work to overcome current pre-occupations and to be conscious of each other. A facilitator must be able to read participants, access their feelings and be willing to adjust. Vulnerability is as important for the facilitator as it is for the participants as the groups should be seen as a team, working together to foster a creative, educational, safe and inclusive space.

3.4.3. C number 5: Commitment

Commitment can come in many ways; whether it is walking to lessons in the pouring rain knowing that participants won't likely show, but being there in case they do, taking a break from lessons to be a supportive ear while participants express their concerns and worries about life or by handing over leadership and becoming one of the group. Our group relationships make us think twice about stereotyping; of ourselves and of others. They teach us to interact and help us to commit to being the best we can; something we learn from those we interact with. We learn new behaviours which we can implement in our lives and we become committed to transferring our skills and knowledge unto others.

Commitment comes out of a passion for caring. As a facilitator and in my everyday life, I am committed to social justice, ensuring that those around me are treated with respect and dignity. I am committed to fostering educating about culture and promoting acceptance and understanding, nurturing curiosity over fear, and I am dedicated to passing these principles along. It may be too idealistic to dream of a world of peace, but I do dream of a world where people are receptive to each other and have the ability to treat each person as an individual as opposed to a stereotype. By focusing on building respectful and caring relationships with participants, I can pass these ideals- commitment continues through them.

Chapter 4: Imizamo Yethu: Don't Throw your Junk in my backyard, my backyards full!

4.1. Introduction:

It is not that difficult to get a group of Xhosa youth singing; at the risk of stereotyping, I'd go so far as stating that singing is in their blood. Part of their lived culture, a great number of Xhosas love to perform, dance, sing and act, but the obstacle is to get them to teach you their song. When I entered this research promoting drama for inclusion, it was never on my mind to work with a group of 30 youths between the ages of 14-30, all of whom were Xhosa speaking South Africans. In my perfect research world I was working with a mixed group of community members with varied backgrounds; locals, refugees, immigrants, a group of rainbow participants representing the rainbow nation. Through the medium of theatre the rainbow participants would learn about each other, face their prejudices, triumph over their stereotypes and work together to build a community of acceptance and tolerance. Lesson learned: Life isn't perfect and therefore we must work within reality.

4.2. Background of the Study

Although Archbishop Desmond Tutu may have coined South Africa 'The Rainbow Nation,' violence between foreigner nationals and the local population has become a common occurrence (Dodson, 2010) resulting in a less than rainbow effect. As a result, tensions between foreign and host populations have continued to grow, creating a volatile and dangerous situation. These tensions are further heightened in communities where resources are lacking and space is a luxury, those being mainly the informal township settlements of South Africa. In 2013 at least three major incidents of xenophobic violence are being reported each week (Landau, 2013) with likely many more remaining undocumented. If one adds to this the instances of verbal bias, social ostracism, and racially oriented service refusals (such as doctors, ambulances and police refusing to aid foreign nationals),³ it becomes clear that the majority of the host population does not particularly want to welcome foreign Africans into their communities. The origins of this form of treatment are controversial in their racially oriented nature. White foreign nationals are not generally treated in the same way, their presence holding the stereotype of 'dollars' and perceived opportunity. Conversely, black migrants are seen as takers of opportunity causing something of a negrophobia between black South Africans and their black African 'brothers.'

Imizamo Yethu (translated as 'our collected effort') on the outskirts of Cape Town is one such informal community containing high numbers of Black foreign nationals and visible xenophobic

³ This information came out of my research with the refugee population. Whether it is fact or perception is undetermined, yet the number of incidences discussed point to patterns of negative treatment.

sentiment. Contextualised in Chapter 2, I.Y., as the locals call it, is often the backdrop of violence and theft against foreigner nationals who also call the community their home. In the first half of 2013 over 200 Somali shops and an unknown number of others run by Chinese immigrants, Zimbabweans and others have been looted and sometimes burned to the concrete foundations in the numerous townships around Cape Town, including I.Y. (Lyman, 2012).

This chapter addresses the youth oriented theatre project which took place over 6 months in 2012. The participants consisted of over 30 youths residing within the township limits and attending an after school/work youth program at a community centre known as James House. James House, a residential child care facility on the outskirts of Imizamo Yethu, houses children in need as well as providing a range of community based services for vulnerable children and orphans. The organization has served the Hout Bay community for over 25 years and works with over 700 children (James House, 2011). The Sibanye Youth Club (the study's focus group) meets at James house every Wednesday and Friday and provides I.Y. youth and young adults with programming, job support, and community bonding. The club welcomes all nationalities but largely reflects the population breakdown of I.Y., with the majority of participants coming from Xhosa backgrounds.

As opposed to me seeking out the project, the project came to me. It was initiated by a researcher in the Political Science department at the University of the Western Cape. My mandate was initially threefold: originate new knowledge on issues being faced within Imizamo Yethu, enhance community dialogue, and present a play. Adding my own research interests regarding social inclusion and drama, the intention of the project became to promote discussion about the I.Y. community, its social achievements, issues and relationships through the medium of drama. I was essentially entering a non-ideal environment for the purposes of the research, yet accepted the task as my ongoing research indicated that the host community must also play a role in order for inclusionary platforms to succeed.

4.3. Purpose of the Study

Based on examination of literature regarding xenophobic causes, (Dodson, 2010) psychological effects of xenophobia (Williams, 2002) and principles of theatrical intervention (Boal, 1979, 1995, 2002; Heathcote, 1991; Jones, 1996; Morris, 1998; Spolin, 1963), the program was designed with the intention of fostering communication about and with foreigners living within Imizamo Yethu, while also promoting self-awareness, social interactions and education on and regarding people in their community. From a research perspective, the study was process driven focusing on the act of drama engagement as a catalyst for change while the product, the requested play, was secondary to the research.

4.4. Description of the Study

The initial background research and literature review largely fed the development of the study which was designed by me in the role of facilitator. A project team which assisted with research objectives was composed of six individuals who each took on specific roles. I refer to my own position as project co-ordinator, facilitator and director; taking on the roles of project creation and development, participant facilitation, catalyst for dialogue, researcher and theatrical director. At the onset of the study, introductions between James House and the academic institutions was facilitated by the Community Outreach Manager at PASSOP (People Against Suffering Oppression and Poverty). As a member of the Imizamo Yethu community, he was aware of where to look for participants and had the ability to arrange meetings and meeting places. Further team members included two academics from each of the participating universities who acted as researchers and supervisors; one in the field of political science, the other in the field of applied theatre. A theatre assistant whom I shall be referring to as the artistic director entered the process at the rehearsal stage and acted as an assistant director with his primary focus on performance aesthetics as well as serving as a Xhosa to English translator and. Finally an academic research assistant from The University of Western Cape's Political Science Department attended various workshops in an observation role, and as a translator.

The drama program, which took place on the ground over 17 weeks, was broken up into five sections. The project was process based but led to an end product; a community event intended to foster cohesion and communication. The program sections were as follows:

Figure 5:

Introductions / Introducing drama / Trust Building	2 weeks
Stories of I.Y. (Digging up Stories)	5 weeks
Rehearsal	7 weeks
Play Preparations	2 weeks
Play/Event Presentation	1 week

The majority of the research findings originated from weeks 3 through 7 and will be highlighted in this chapter. The additional weeks were used mainly as play preparation and, though beneficial, will be discussed in far less detail.

At the onset of each lesson we would conduct a check-in, a common practice used in various methods of therapy. This practice was a part of the participant's daily routine for which I can take no credit. It was initiated by youth leaders within the group who had learned the process years earlier. In the check-in each member was supposed to express their feelings and their

present emotional state. Most would talk about their week and how they were feeling about being present in the session. The purpose of the check-in is to promote even participation during the session, produce a sense of group cohesiveness and to obtain information regarding each member's emotional and mental states. Furthermore, the check-in serves as a resource for deciding the path of the session which is to follow (Gordon 2008).

Following the check-in, warm-up exercises would be instigated. Although occasionally pre-determined, these exercises were typically selected in the space in order to correlate with the mood of the members. Exercises and games were chosen from many sources including methods used in applied theatre, acting training, educational theatre and drama therapy. Influential authors for the warm-up sessions included Augusto Boal (2002), Viola Spolin (1963) and Erik Morris (1998).

The purpose of the warm-up was to foster group cohesiveness, collaboration and promote ensemble in a non-threatening way whilst, as suggested in Chapter 1, building social skills and boundaries. Although the participants knew each other there was a level of trust missing in the group which could, in theory, hinder dialogue regarding serious topics. The warm-ups played an important role in promoting physical expression, fostering articulation and creative stimulation as well as encouraging active listening skills. Based on the 'collective' mood of the group, the exercises could take the form of concentration exercises, energy building games, mood lifting and laughter inducing methods or trust building exercises.

The bulk of each workshop focused on generating discussion through methods of improvised scene building, image theatre and storytelling. My goal was to generate discussion regarding xenophobia in the community but the exercises remained open to suggestions allowing numerous themes to emerge. The emergent themes, both positive and negative in nature, reflected the issues and worries being faced in Imizamo Yethu and allowed the research to expand from integration issues to complexities regarding relationships, community struggles and mis-communication.

In the five weeks dedicated to digging up stories and generating discussion, a different technique was implemented each lesson in order to prompt the creation of scene work, storytelling and image work.

Figure 6: Discussion Generating Techniques

WEEK	PRELIMINARY TECHNIQUE
1	Personal Timelines
2	Action Timelines / Timeline of Imizamo Yethu
3	Community Mapping
4	List of Complaints / Picture Prompting

Day 1:

The timeline approach implemented in the first exploration session stems from research on alcoholism. Originally coined the Alcohol Timeline Follow Back (TLFB) (Sorbell, 1979), it is used to help prevent destructive behaviours, such as alcoholism, by asking participants to draw a graph illustrating the major events in their lives. This technique was implemented as a method of addressing and discussing concerns and issues common amongst the youth and their community at large. The timelines were meant to address stories associated with township life, pinpoint common struggles, issues and achievements, and to build a better understanding of the goals, and lives of the members. I waited until I felt that trust had been adequately built within the space prior to applying this exercise as it asked for personal sharing and exploration. The timeline method, which has moved away from alcoholism research into a vast array of fields, is generally used with therapeutic intentions. My decision to use the timeline method was an attempt to veer away from sensationalised opinions of township youth and to fully examine the true concerns and dangers facing participants each and every day. In doing so, I hoped that we could find more of the core reasons for xenophobic sentiment in the present context of Imizamo Yethu; not the context of 2008, nor the context of South Africa at large but of the people expressing the feelings and living in the community where the sentiment is prominent. Figure 7 outlines the common themes to have emerged from the exercise indicating the percentage of participants to have highlighted the theme as being important. Like any youth, education and social life are of the outmost concern; however 60% of participants listed a death as a life affecting event, and 40% noted violence. Created by coding each event listed on the timelines into a correlating theme, the complete list of concerns and the percentage of participants to mention each is as follows:

Figure 7:



The exercise provided participants a platform to voice their views as opposed to me pushing stereotypical opinions upon them and as a result highlighted true concerns which, if we correlate back to Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs, indicate the absence of several safety related human needs.

Following the drawing of the timelines, each participant presented their timeline to the rest of the participants. This was not the original goal; however, it was the participant's desire and, as a facilitator promoting choice, received warmly.

Day 2:

The exploration in day two was a continuation of the previous week's lesson. Theatricality was achieved through the re-visitation of personal timelines and discussion generated through the creation of new, yet similar, timelines addressing major events in the history of I.Y. The lesson began with students breaking into groups of 5 and drawing a timeline of their community. This exercise generated debate and confusion over years and event details and prompted intensive group discussions. From there, the participants revisited their personal timelines. Each group chose one event and portrayed that event through the creation of a still image; a strategy partially motivated by Augusto Boal's Image Theatre as described in *Rainbow of Desire* (1995). In using images to portray life events I was essentially attempting to examine influential actions of a different place and time and have them 'brought closer and made larger' (Boal, 1995:27); to bring the events of the past forward in order to examine the present behaviours. Participants were then encouraged to convey the scenes actively by improvising the event at the same time as other groupings. This method is slightly similar to the dramatherapy method, 'Developmental Transportation' (DvT) which believes that through enactment 'we develop a greater capacity to tolerate the instability we experience' (Reynolds, 2011:297). In replaying the events, the majority of which were of a negative nature, the participants have the opportunity to transform the embodied encounters and respond in more authentic ways (Johnson, 2009).

Following the improvisation, the groups verbally presented their Imizamo Yethu timelines; sparking debate and discussion about authenticity and importance. The final task was to create a 3 minute scene depicting one of the major events found on their timeline which was presented to the entire group as a performance; transforming the life event into a representation of said event (Jones, 1996:120), thus allowing critical distance and the opportunity for critical reflection and discussion. This exercise sparked the first conversation about foreigners in I.Y which was a major breakthrough as prior to this lesson there was no mention of 'the others' existence. It was a guarded conversation yet led to more comprehensive discussions over the following weeks.

Day 3:

Day three saw the implementation of the community mapping technique. Most commonly used in community development programs and art and family therapy sessions, the choice to use community mapping was made due to the dialogue potential the exercise holds as well as its ability to pinpoint personal views and perceptions on the community and those living within it. In requesting that the participants map out their communities, social dynamics were highlighted as well as places of perceived importance, economical view points, social concerns, and locations which induce pride for the participants. In mapping, the participants often highlighted places of personal importance by inadvertently drawing such areas larger than scale or highlighting the areas with brighter, more eye catching colours.

In one example a participant drew her home as a two story 'Western' style house with peaked roof (the type that would be surrounded with a white picket fence) amongst the derelict shacks of Donze Yakhi (the informal settlement). I am by no means a psychologist but the significance of this image was not lost on me. It left me to question whether the image highlighted perceived visions of grandeur, dreams of a better future, or an example of labelling where one draws a stereotypical image as a representation of home, as opposed to the actual home. In highlighting these locations, story and dialogue was produced, again illustrating the fundamental needs or lack thereof existing within the community and preventing the youth from moving up within the hierarchy of needs. After sketching the maps, which was accomplished in groups of 4 or 5, each group picked one place on the drawing and presented a scene and story associated with that place to the rest of the participants. The exercise succeeded in pinpointing social and resource needs as well as social viewpoints held within the community.

Through this exercise I was able to again identify some of the causes which trigger social violence and/or xenophobia in the township. In addition to supplying social information, the enactment of scenes had a positive effect on the participants. As I did not know prior to the lesson whether these scenes would contain positive or negative depictions, I was forced to rely on dramatherapy theories stating that enactment itself is a venue to express repressed emotions (Morley, 2000:15). I believe that many youth repress both negative and positive emotions, and likely more so in communities which face tragedy and death on a daily basis. Whether it is in fear of appearing 'uncool,' insulting memories or appearing weak, emotions are often bottled-up leaving social interactions a struggle. As such if enactment has the ability to release any emotion, I feel it is an encouraging development.

Day 4:

Each participant had been instructed to bring a personal photo which would be presented in front of the group for this lesson. When they went to they were instructed that the story could only be told through the use of the body; no words permitted. In groups of 5, each participant enacted their story. Following the presentation a partner from within the group had to attempt to tell the others story through spoken text. Finally, the session culminated with scenes of selected stories presented to all members in attendance.

This lesson was based on observations made prior to this lesson. Many stories depicted the community as a sad and harsh environment which, I must note, I do not disagree with. However, I also firmly believe that in all bad environments there are aspects of good and by highlighting good incidents one can begin to look at life in a more positive manner. A personal photograph is rarely a documentation of something bad but rather depicts a happy, exciting or life changing time. In asking for participants to bring photographs I knew that the lesson would turn into a celebration, releasing emotions of happiness as opposed to hardships and giving the youth something they really needed; laughter. This became a lesson designed to challenge stereotypes both from me and from the participants; many of whom were starting to believe that there was little good about township life. We all walked away with laughter and a greater appreciation for the community. Through the memories we could see that there are indeed positive aspects rising out of the difficult living conditions.

Day 5:

The final session of the discussion generating subdivision saw the addition of a new workshop leader. The addition was made in order to assist with artistic aesthetic for the final performance and to act as a translator between Xhosa and English, which was beginning to become a concrete problem.

The final session took on an improvised approach. In warm-up, the participants explored the room until they heard a number; they were then instructed to form a group consisting of that number. I would then yell out a situation, relationship or person which the group would then improvise. Following this exercise the participants were broken into pairs and given a short line which was to prompt an improvised story. The lines were as follows:

‘What are you doing here?’

‘How much does that cost?’

‘I wouldn’t touch that if I were you.’

‘Can you give me a hand?’

These improvisations provided a glimpse into the mindset of the youth. Some scenes were somewhat sensationalised but each providing aspects of truth. By enacting depictions of their community it was clear what was troubling the youth and, in turn, what was causing some of the contempt held towards others. The complete lack of resources and social addictions, such as drugs and alcohol, became the centre of discussion and the focus of the final performance.

Through drama, we are able to challenge perceptions of some of these issues. By addressing the concerns of the youth, we also address the immediate crisis; the state of unhappiness. By fostering an environment of enjoyment and communication, we can work through the troubles and effect moods of participants; moods which, if left unchecked, could create tensions in their community environments.

University of Cape Town

Chapter 5: Refugees: One bottle of pop (and so on)...

5.1. Introduction:

It becomes relatively easy, albeit insensitive, to group a mass of people together when they are distinguished solely by a title; one becomes two, two becomes three, three become millions. Instead of looking at each 'refugee' as an individual with distinct needs, dreams and past experiences, society tends to place these individuals into stereotyped groupings of weak, traumatised victims of war. Media 'invoke the iconic figure of a grief-stricken woman, clutching her head or child in despair' (Pupavac, 2006:1), feeding and feminising the picture of the defenceless refugee. The image of refugees as political heroes and 'defenders of freedom' (Pupavac, 2006:1) is often overlooked and in doing so offers a great injustice; after all, a defender of freedom is a figure who inspires admiration and merits rights and civil liberties, a weak victim acquires pity and obligatory donations.

The stereotypes become even more harmful, when refugees themselves begin to believe them. Allowing social conventions to dictate 'inner motives, passions, and fears in order to adopt their necessary and respective roles' (Bowman, 2012:136), diminishes feelings of self-worth and negatively influences personal welfare often causing refugees to withdrawn from their social surroundings.

5.2. Background Information

The Scalabrini centre, located in central Cape Town, has been assisting with migrant welfare since its foundation in 1994. The centre 'is committed to alleviating poverty and promoting development in the Western Cape while fostering integration between migrants, refugees and South Africans' (Scalabrini, 2012). Their main objectives are 'To foster the cultural, social and economic integration of migrants, refugees and South Africans into local society' (Scalabrini, 2012) offering support in the forms of employment access, digital literacy, skills training, and English acquisition (Scalabrini, 2012). In 2012, the Scalabrini centre welcomed a new form of social integration platform. The drama program (facilitated by the researcher as an extension of the Scalabrini English department) was intended as a method of promoting integration for refugees living in the host South African community. The following chapter will explore with greater depth the techniques used in the drama program at Scalabrini. It will describe the research design, obstacles, process of alteration and final outcomes.

5.3. Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study was to examine of the role of drama in the fostering of integration and inclusion for refugees living in host communities. My research, as part of the Scalabrini

English department combined methods of Applied Theatre, English as Second Language (ESL) techniques, and psychological and sociological backing. Although research was the key instigator of the program, participant welfare became the driving force and social inclusion became elevated above the research as the desired outcome.

5.4. Description of Study

5.4.1. Program Preparations

Prior to entering the facilitation stage at Scalabrini, I had a clear vision of how the program would be structured and how it would unfold. After speaking with the centre's head of English and discussing my concerns regarding 'inclusion' as well as my experience with language training, I was able to develop a program outline which would couple English acquisition and drama with inclusion techniques. Extensive readings on the needs of refugees and the effects of xenophobia and social ostracism led the research theory with weight being placed on the need to belong as 'the most fundamental of all human needs' (Williams, 2001:60). In development stages, I anticipated the need to counteract the negative effects of social exclusion including the rebuilding of self-esteem, gaining of control, and fostering a space where one could envision a future and a meaningful existence (Williams, 2001). The devised program was broken up into lessons and phases which are listed in Figure 8.

Figure 8:

	Goal	Time Frame
Phase 1	Introduction to drama and drama techniques + trust building	4 lessons
Phase 2	Group building and belonging	4 lessons
Phase 3	Self-esteem	4 lessons
Phase 4	Community building and educational control	4 lessons
Phase 5	Community integrations and implementation of skills	4 lessons

Theoretical preparations were extensive and inclusive of the goals outlined by the Scalabrini centre, which was to include English acquisition elements, yet it became clear that I had missed one major element. In my desire to create a program based on theories and psychological backing, I had overlooked the main purpose of the program which wasn't about the theories of exclusion or the master's dissertation but rather about the people. In attempting to create a program designed to help others take control, I was ultimately giving the control to myself.

5.4.2. What Transpired to Alter the Program?

Amongst smiles and nervous laughter, I could tell that the participants were struggling to understand the purpose of drama but, to my relief, they were giving it an admirable effort. However, when the participants congregated as a group, I noticed one female shying away from the others. Her forced smile and collapsed body language articulated fear; 'she was not in a safe place' (Hughes, 2012:3). My instincts as a concerned facilitator took over from my role as researcher and the readings and theories were thrown aside in favour of human compassion and responsiveness. In that moment, my goal became the fostering of a space of safety and understanding, where relationship and interaction meant more than theory or research. I realised that if inclusivity was even a remote possibility, it must be the choice of the participants and not the facilitator. It was from this, very early point, that I undertook to allow the program to be theirs (the refugees) and not mine.

The miscalculations in the planning stage were due primarily to a lack of situational and contextual consideration. The first four lessons, including the one mentioned, were planned around the teachings of Augusto Boal whose techniques, one could argue, are some of the most employed in the field of Applied Theatre. The exercises chosen for the lessons were designed to foster trust and empowerment and purposely chosen for their ability to promote feelings of safety in the classroom. They were largely physical and/or involved intimate proximity between participants; which is where the problem occurred. Prior to facilitation I should have extended preparations by fully examining, with the centre, the backgrounds of students and/or potential students. Both verbal comments from classmates and the female participant's physical reaction to the exercises hinted that she had been through a traumatic event. Documentation on asylum seekers and incidents of violence are available and should have been considered as part of the preparations. I feel that in automatically relying on Boal as though his techniques were the most suitable in any context was an oversight brought forth from lack of contextual research. The failure of the techniques could also be due to the objectives of the techniques themselves; trying to push the fostering of trust too early in the workshop process. Unfortunately, the female student did not return for future lessons.

After making the mistake the study changed dramatically and led, in my opinion, towards a much more empathetic and well-rounded approach to the use of theatre as an integration method. In allowing social and observational sensitivity into the practice and demonstrating the ability to adjust, the needs of the participants were considered to a far greater extent. The use of drama became a collective method coupled with elements of language acquisition, choice opportunity, psychology and sociology, what eventually are expressed below as 'lifeskills' for the participants.

5.4.3. Drama for Inclusion: The Revamped Program

Upon revisiting the program and deciding to approach the objectives in a different manner, the study separated into three different phases:

Figure 9:

Phase 1:	Pre-Lesson Background analysis	2 weeks
Phase 2:	Introductions and Trust Building	2 weeks
Phase 3:	Life Skills	10 weeks

5.4.4. Phase 1

The first phase listed above was not included in my research and thus becomes a proposed phase as I would suggest that it be implemented in future integration programs. As its absence in my own program points out, without the background analysis one runs the risk of placing participants in undesirable situations. Following the proposed background analysis, the next two phases would consist of trust building and life skills. These two phases were part of the revamped program and will be highlighted in this chapter.

From this point on, the study was largely led and backed by grounded theory and I attempted to allow the study to lead the theory. Each subsequent lesson fed off of the previous, and was not planned more than two weeks ahead of implementation. The lessons reflected live research elements and opinions emerging from the second case study (in the township setting) outlined in Figure 4.

5.4.5. Phase 2: Introductions and Trust Building

Phase 2 occurred over the span of 2 lessons; the second half of Day 2 and Day 3. When deciding to change the aim of the program in the second lesson, I resorted to my experience as a teacher and relied heavily on my pedagogical skills in order to salvage the lesson. The key element of this phase was the creation of an interactive, non-threatening environment. The first pedagogical technique to assist in the fostering of such an environment is known in the educational field as Games Based Learning (Pivec, 2009). GBL theoretically assists in fostering a safe environment by creating a fun, immersive program, allowing students to learn skills through the act of play.

Environment was further explored through a slightly altered version of Augusto Boal's Image Theatre which was implemented in the second half of the 'salvaged' lesson; devised entirely on the floor. Although, I have mentioned that many of Boal's games were not the preferred choice in this context, the participants reacted positively to image theatre. The directions that I gave

participants were to depict a tableau of a traditional Congolese wedding; a topic which had come up in conversation. However, I altered directions by suggesting that no two participants were permitted to touch, thus removing the fear of bodily contact for concerned participants. My initial goal in implementing this exercise was to allow participants to easily connect with theatre conventions by placing them in a role which they were familiar and in a non-threatening image as opposed to an action. The exercise exceeded my expectations by becoming a successful way of exploring and introducing cultural similarities and variances. Although all participants were all of Congolese decent, tribal differences were present; resulting in contrasting depictions of what a traditional wedding should entail. Consequently, through description of variances, which turned into enactment (by their doing), each student has an opportunity to be the expert in the classroom, teaching both the facilitator and the other students, many of whom they did not know prior to the lesson, about their homeland. The exercise highlighted their status as an expert, provided personal introductions, prompted self-awareness and resulted in breaking classroom barriers. This could be seen in the authentic laughter, debate and excitement which formed in the space. In selecting a topic which was completely foreign to me, the students' status levels increased in relation to my own as facilitator. As a non-South African and non-African, I observed participants taking it upon themselves to teach me what 'African' culture was like; clearly indicating through verbal and physical remarks that South Africa was not included in this definition. I, very honestly, became the student in the space learning not only about Congolese traditions but also about the stereotypes that they hold towards their host community. These stereotypes included the perception that the majority of black and coloured South Africans were thieves, uneducated, lazy, selfish and untrustworthy, while white South Africans were largely ignored in conversation (Hughes, 2012).

Phase 2 also acted as a method of research and inquiry needed to feed the remainder of the program. I experimented with certain drama based techniques in order to determine which were preferred by participants. Participants enjoyed GBL they struggled to see the point of it and articulated games as being a waste of time. Conversely, the participants enjoyed and engaged in role-play as they could easily see its direct benefit on their lives in South Africa.

5.4.6. Phase 3: Lifeskills

Making up the bulk of the program, phase 3 implemented integration techniques and strategies while building of self-esteem and safe exploration continued to transpire. The majority of the drama employed in the refugee context revolved around the use of role-play. As adults we learn how to negotiate between our many roles in life; for example, as father, child, employer or teacher (Bowman, 2012:137). For the most part, our roles become conditioned in our everyday lives and something which we take for granted. However, when individuals become

trapped in prescribed roles, such as refugee, or moved to new environments where culture, religion or views may confuse social roles, individuals must learn to adapt and adopt 'various roles in order to adequately integrate in society' (Bowman, 2010:137). We may think that outside opinion doesn't matter and that we are 'independent entities, unaffected by the sway of public opinion and expectation, our brains are hardwired to seek acceptance, approval, and integration with others' (Bowman, 2010:136).

'Identity alteration in role-playing games allows individuals the ability to "practice" roles in a low consequence environment' (Bowman, 2010:137). Role-play allows us to explore our self-awareness of inner multiplicities, challenging the positions we have been 'forced' to adopt and exploring the roles that may be hidden within. We can play with social roles and behaviours disguised as creative story-telling and provide 'significant opportunities for shared experience' (Prendergast & Saxton, 2013:14). Developing shared experience in the space assists in building a platform for inclusion; although it may not be inclusion with the host, it is inclusion within a community and in turn helps to fulfill a fundamental need that all humans strive to possess.

The lifeskills/role-play phase was broken up over ten weeks and explored the following themes:

Figure 9:

Week 1	Employment/ Interviews (Language acquisition)
Week 2	Employment/ Interviews (Role Play)
Week 3	News (Language acquisition)
Week 4	News (Role Play)
Week 5	Mapping (Language acquisition / Role Play)
Week 6	Mapping / Directions (Role Play)
Week 7	Complaints / Restaurants (Language acquisition/ Role Play)
Week 8	Money (Language acquisition/ Role Play)
Week 9	Dr. Visits (Language acquisition/ Role Play)
Week 10	The Law (Language acquisition/ Role Play)

As previously mentioned each topic was chosen the week preceding and was decided based on participant choice, practitioner observation or a result of themes emerging in the township. The topics would rotate every two weeks with the first week being dedicated to topic introduction, vocabulary and topic specific language and the second week to the role-play of theme or situation.

The choice to have two lessons on the same topic was primarily participant's choice coupled with need. Language skills amongst refugees are a major factor hindering integration attempts. Not only do poor language skills hinder inclusion but they also prevent self-integration by lessening self-esteem. As such, integration attempts would be fruitless without elements of

language acquisition in contexts where refugees do not speak the local language. The language acquisition portions of the workshops largely relied on ESL techniques, of which I have been using for many years. In each lesson I would provide reading materials and work through comprehension, pronunciation and local slang. Quite often the participants were assigned writing and speaking tasks which led into role-plays and theatrically based explorations. Language corrections occurred during the lesson; allowing for moments of repetition and clarification. During the role-play lessons, language corrections occurred following the 'presentations' as to not pull participants out of role. As participant acceptance of the role-play format grew and the desire to practise took hold corrections would often spark additional role-plays.

The role-play lessons varied in their format from week to week but contained similar principles. Each role-play scenario included a script, something that the participants could either read or present to or with the rest of the group. Every script varied, some being created by participants, others designed and provided by the facilitator. They were similar in that every script dealt with an aspect of everyday life in South Africa; from shopping to banking, to employment. The script and theme were examined in the language lesson then presented in the role-play lesson. In some cases, such as the 'mapping' lesson, participants created their own scripts. In this particular lesson, half of the lesson was used to draw a map of the place considered to be 'home.' This specific topic, more so than the others, was chosen for its psychological significance. In mapping, participants were able to explore their past and their present helping to map a path from 'there' to 'here' and to bridge the past to present. Many refugees experience great disjunction finding it hard to move ahead and to know exactly who they are. Mapping allowed the participants both the time and space to collect their memories of home and bring them into their new home; in turn, helping them to locate themselves. The role-play associated with this lesson was by choice; participants could either present their maps as themselves, choose to be characters, such as tour guides leading the group through the drawing or to opt out of presenting. No-one chose the third option and the other options were split. Some participants, by this the 5th week of lessons, had found safety and enjoyment in the act of role-play, while others took a few more weeks to engage fully.

Other role-play 'scripts' were given to the participants: 'Complaints' saw participants with menus and bills with contrasting totals, whereas 'Dr. Visits' had two participants interacting, one, the patient, with an ailment and symptoms listed on a card, the other, the Doctor, with a list of diseases, symptoms and cures; the task of the doctor was to diagnose and 'cure' their sick patient.

Perhaps the most engaged that the participants had ever been in role-play, the 'Dr. Visit' scenes incorporated basic elements of Dorothy Heathcote's 'Mantle of the Expert' seeing participants

as experts in the field of medicine. The exercise encouraged equal status levels within the classroom (Heathcote & Bolton, 1994) and involved the facilitator by placing me into a 'family' role. Each student took turns as both patient and doctor, allowing everyone the chance to be an expert in the space. It was observed that when in the expert role, participants fully engaged in the activity, improvising away from the script and adding their personal expertise to the subject. The self-esteem increase was considerable with participants commenting on how surprised they were that they were able to speak relatively freely in English.

In addition to scripts, every role-play had a position, or role, for facilitator. If we were creating scripts I would be creating as well, if we were acting out situations I would also have a role. I found this to be an important part of the process as essentially I was acting as a model or 'Apprentice' for the participants. In modeling, I would illustrate my 'master' ability, engaging seriously with drama and highlighting that it was not as 'silly' as many perceived it to be. On occasion, especially in the beginning, the roles which I portrayed were in leadership, such as an employer interviewing for new employees. As confidence increased amongst participants, I would take on other, lower status roles in order to promote their abilities as teacher and highlight their positions in society. An example of this occurred in the 2nd mapping role-play, which saw the participants as local residents and me as a lost person asking for directions. The metaphor behind this exercise also highlighting that home isn't always where we come from but where we find comfort.

In addition to scripting and facilitator involvement, each role-play contained examples of improvisation. The scripts in each role-play could be considered prompts which, in turn, lead to improvisation as a means for participants to test out their ideas and the possibilities that lie within (Prendergast & Saxton, 2013:17). As many of the role-play topics revolved around lifeskills and potential real life interactions, the lessons became rehearsals for life. 'Life itself is an improvisation of sorts' (Prendergast & Saxton, 2013:17) and therefore the drama space becomes a place where we can rehearse our actions and improvisations without the fear of being judged or penalised. 'We learn through experience and experiencing, and no one teaches anyone anything' (Spolin, 1963:3).

Intuitively, we know how to act and react within society but when that same society pushes us into roles, and expects us to act in a certain way, we can become overwhelmed by our own behavioural analysis, making it nearly impossible to feel included.

Through spontaneity we are re-formed into ourselves. It creates an explosion that for the moment frees us from handed down frames of reference, memory choked with old facts and information and undigested theories and techniques of other people's findings. Spontaneity is the moment of personal freedom when we are faced with a reality and see it, explore it and act accordingly (Spolin, 1963:4).

In this study, improvisation also allowed participants to enter into various roles; personally acquainted them with other individual's points of view and how they may experience situations (Heathcote, 1991:44). The improvisations become a way of understanding and helping to diminish stereotypes held against the host. It is a way to work through issues, clarify misunderstandings and empower action.

5.5. Stereotypes

Throughout this paper stereotyping has been highlighted as a major obstacle preventing inclusion and integration for refugees and as a cause of xenophobic violence. As I have pointed out these negative stereotypes emanate from all parties including the refugee drama group whose opinion of host were apparent and articulated, as a result, making it nearly impossible for integration or acceptance. 'Teacher in role' (Heathcote & Bolton, 1995) was employed throughout the process and assisted, not only in creating an inclusive environment, but also in confronting these stereotypes. Whilst in role I would explore every chance I could in order to break a stereotype; both within the subject of the drama as well as within the host society. For example; in the 'Job Interview' lesson the role of a kind employer was taken in order to break the perception that all employers are evil. Alternatively, the role was also improvised as the stereotypical 'evil' employer in order to highlight the extreme notions of the held stereotype and the process of stereotyping.

I, like much of the world, conformed to the picture of the 'weak' refugee. I also entered into the project believing that most of the integration issues came from the host. However, I healthily challenged these stereotypes on a daily basis through interaction and education. My interactions with the township youth challenged my own perceptions which fed into the Scalabrini centre and vice-versa. They became aspects of roles-plays and helped facilitate post scene discussions which asked participants to consider and challenge their own perceptions.

Conclusions and Recommendations: We might just have a song

We have a song, it may not yet be in harmony but we know our place, and even if we haven't got the entire round perfected, we have had some fun trying. This dissertation set out to investigate the role of drama as a method of inclusion for refugees in host communities. In this conclusion I review the study's contributions, as well as recommendations for future research.

Contributions:

The contributions of this study took the form of a largely descriptive analysis- highlighting theoretical backing, influential literature, social barriers preventing refugee integration and obstacles preventing the acceptance of refugees. It examines the research design formulated to act as a method of lessening the emphasised social barriers in the hopes of heightening social inclusion of refugees and further promotes drama as the method of facilitating the process.

The following are the major contributions to have derived from the dissertation while minor contributions have been omitted:

- **A theoretical framework** (Chapter 1) highlighting numerous vantage points for practice as research focused around human interaction as being the most fundamental of all human needs. Leading the framework was Symbolic Interactionism which allowed for lenses into human interactions, suggesting that society causes humans to act in certain ways, when their subconscious may desire entirely different behaviours.
- **A review of pertinent literature** (Chapter 1) illustrating drama as a positive method of promoting social inclusion and suggesting dramatherapy, play, role-play and improvisation as possible techniques for approaching the process.
- **Warnings regarding contextual considerations** (Chapter 1, 5) highlighting the importance of social understanding and background information in order to minimise the risk of potential danger for participants and facilitators, and to prevent alienation of those who may have been exposed to violence.
- **A comprehensive look at integration issues for refugees** (Chapter 2) providing insight on obstacles for those seeking refuge in South Africa including the causes of xenophobia; focusing on cultural stereotyping as a major source and suggesting the possibility of drama exploration in order to lessen the act.
- **Issues faced by hosts in South Africa** (Chapter 2) were examined to explain why many are not inclined to accept foreigners in their communities. The research points to hosts as being a major obstacle preventing refugee integration and illustrates how absence of human needs may be causing the problem. Lack of self-awareness and esteem

heighten tensions and the research suggests strengthening these abilities in order to lessen negative perceptions (Chapter 5).

- A **facilitation outline** (Chapter 3). Specifically, I introduced the '*round-about*' method which sees the facilitator as taking on a role of equal status and working within the group to foster trust and cooperation in the space. A caring, 'apprentice' style relationship helps to nurture communication which then allows for discussion on and about 'the other.' The information obtained feeds back through the facilitator where it is mirrored onto the other grouping. I have described this method as participants 'having a conversation through the facilitator.'
- An **analysis of drama programming in a host setting** (Chapter 4) described the various drama methods used in the township in order to foster inclusion. Drama helped to foster communication regarding 'the other,' explore specific themes of concern, develop self-awareness and empowered learning and challenge self-stereotypes and perceptions of refugees.
- An **analysis of drama programming in a refugee setting** (Chapter 5) which mixes language acquisition elements with dramatic role-plays. Specific exercises: assisted refugees in establishing a bridge from their past and present, promoted taking control over their education by providing choice opportunities, fostered self-awareness and the elimination of self-preoccupation (asking for permission to be), lessened depression through interaction (Chapter 1), challenged stereotypes of the other, developed language, forged relationships and helped to develop social functioning skills and rules.

Recommendations:

The '*round-about*' style of facilitation was devised as a result of grounded theory, indicating that the research led to the method. Further research would need to be implemented in order to validate this approach and to highlight its specific effectiveness. I would recommend facilitating this approach with individuals who meet on a regular basis in order to document behavioural changes or lack thereof. A suggestion was made that modelling positive behaviours can have a lasting effect on participants; again this requires in-depth analysis of behaviour prior to drama exposure and following in order to authenticate the opinion.

Conclusion:

The true benefit of drama was seen each day by the positive energy emitted in the space. Regardless of what specific aspects created this attitude; laughter, smiling, joking and friendship were the true indicators of success. The complex relationships needed to foster a drama for inclusion are not so complex after all; caring about participants and getting them to

care about the program, drama, their classmates, facilitator and themselves will, as they say in conflict resolution, deal with the immediate crisis: the crisis of unhappiness. If even a little of the happiness generated in the room follows us home and spreads to the community, we have all managed to foster a drama for inclusion. When we know our songs we must take the opportunity to sing; you never know who might listen and add in with something of their own; potentially creating a unique, diverse harmony, or at least something we can appreciate.

University of Cape Town

Reference List:

- Amollo, M. 2008. *The Power of Theatre in Transforming Conflicts at Kakuma Refugee Camp*. Available: http://beyondintractability.colorado.edu/case_studies/transformation_kakuma.jsp?nid=6804 [2013, May 23].
- Babbage, F. 2004. *Augusto Boal*. New York: Routledge.
- Bandura, A. 1977. *Social learning theory*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Barrett, E. & Bolt, B. 2007. *Practice as Research: Approaches to Creative Arts Enquiry*, London & New York: IB Tauris.
- Blumer, H. 1969. *Symbolic Interactionism; Perspective and Method*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- Boal, A. 1979. *Theatre of the Oppressed*. London: Pluto Press.
- Boal, A. 1995. *The rainbow of desire: The Boal method of theatre and therapy*. London: Routledge.
- Boal, A. 2002. *Games for Actors and Non-Actors*. London: Routledge.
- Bogdan, R. C. & Biklen, S. K. 1998. *Qualitative research in education. An introduction to theory and methods*. Massachusetts: Allyn & Bacon, A Viacom Company.
- Booth, D. W. & Gallagher, K. (eds). 2003. *How Theatre Educates: Convergences and Counterpoints with Artists, Scholars And Advocates*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Bowman, S. L. 2010. *The functions of role-playing games: How participants create community, solve problems and explore identity*. North Carolina: McFarland.
- Burns, N. & Grove, S.K. 2009. *The Practice of Nursing Research: Appraisal, synthesis, and generation of evidence*. 6th ed. USA: Saunders.
- Cohen, J. 2008. *Safe in our hands?: A study of suicide and self-harm in asylum seekers*. *Journal of Forensic and Legal Medicine*, 15: 235-244.
- Coombs, D. 2008. *Guide to Facilitation*. Cambridge: The Careers Research and Advisory Centre (CRAC) Limited.

- Corbin, J. M. & Strauss, A. 1990. Grounded theory research: Procedures, canons, and evaluative criteria. *Qualitative sociology*, 13(1): 3-21.
- Day, L. 2002. 'Putting Yourself in Other People's Shoes': The use of Forum theatre to explore refugee and homeless issues in schools. *Journal of Moral Education*, 31 (1): 21-34.
- Denzin, N. & Lincoln, Y. 2003. The Discipline and Practice of Qualitative Research. (In Denzin, N. & Lincoln, Y. (eds.), *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials*, 2nd ed, California: SAGE Publication, Inc. p. 1-45.)
- Denzin, N. 2001. The Seventh Moment: Qualitative Inquiry and the Practices of a More Radical Consumer Research. *The Journal of Consumer Research*, 28(2): 324-330.
- Duval, S. & Wicklund, R. A. 1972. A theory of objective self awareness. Oxford, England: Academic Press.
- Dodson, B. 2010. Locating Xenophobia: Debate, Discourse, and Everyday Experience in Cape Town, South Africa. *Africa Today*, 56(3): 2-22.
- Elliott, N. S. 2007. Complexities and Challenges of Cross-Border Migration: The Influx of Zimbabwean Migrants Into South Africa (2000-2007). *Historical Approaches: Cape Town: Department of Historical Studies, University of Cape Town*: 140-157.
- Emunah, R. 1995. *Acting for Real: Drama Therapy, Process, Technique, and Performance*. New York: Brunner/Mazel.
- Freire, P. 1970. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: Herder and Herder.
- Freire, P. 1994. *Pedagogy of hope: reliving Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: Continuum.
- Gallagher, K. 2011. Roma Refugee Youth and Applied Theatre: Imagining a future vernacular. *NJ (National Journal of Drama Australia)*, 35: 1-12.
- Glaser, B. & Strauss, A. 1967. *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson (86).
- Goffman, E. 1959. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday.
- Gordon, R. 2008. The Two-Minute Check-in at the Beginning of Psychoanalytic Group Therapy Sessions. *Group Analysis*, 41: 366-372.

- Grainger, R. 1990. *Drama and Healing: The Roots of Drama Therapy*. London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers.
- Griffith, P. & Leonard, M. (eds). 2002. *Reclaiming Britishness: Living Together After 11 September and the Rise of the Right*. London: Foreign Policy Centre.
- Harte, E.W., Childs, I. & Hastings, P. 2009. Imizamo Yethu: a Case Study of Community Resilience to Fire Hazard in an Informal Settlement Cape Town, South Africa. *Journal compilation: Institute of Australian Geographers*, 47(2): 142–154.
- Hazou, R. 2010. Staging Hidden Stories: Australian Theatre and Asylum Seekers. *Double Dialogues*, 3: 1-1. Available: http://www.doubledialogues.com/in_stead/in_stead_iss03/Hazou.html [2013, Aug 31].
- Heathcote, D. 1991. *Collected writings on Education and Drama*. Illinois: Northwestern University Press.
- Heathcote, D. & Bolton, G. 1994. *Drama for Learning: Dorothy Heathcote's Mantle of the Expert Approach to Education. Dimensions of Drama Series*. Portsmouth: Heinemann.
- Heathcote, D. & Herbert, P. 1985. A drama of learning: Mantle of the expert. *Theory into Practice*, 24(3): 173-180.
- Hodgson, J. (ed.) 1972. *The Uses of Drama: Sources giving a background to acting as a social and educational force*. London: Eyre Methuen Ltd.
- Holloway, I. & Wheeler, S. 2002. *Qualitative Research in Nursing* (2nd ed). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Horghagen, S. & Josephsson, S. 2010. Theatre as liberation, collaboration and relationship for asylum seekers. *Journal of Occupational Science*, 17(8): 168-176.
- Hout Bay Christian Community Association. 2011. Imizamo Yethu. Available: http://www.hbcca.co.za/imizamo_yethu.htm [2012, June 17].
- Hughes, S. 2012. Imizamo Yethu Drama Journal. [Unpublished Journal].
- Hughes, S. 2012. Scalabrini Centre Drama Journal. [Unpublished Journal].
- James House. 2011. *History*. Available: <http://www.jameshouse.org.za/about-us.html>. [2012, Aug 17].

- Jeffers, A. 2012. *Refugees, Theatre and Crisis: Performing Global Identities*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Jennings, S., Cattanach, A., Mitchell, S., Chesner, A., Meldrum, B. & Nfa, S. M. 2006. *The handbook of dramatherapy*. London: Routledge.
- Johnson, D. R. 2009. Developmental transformations: Toward the body as presence. (In Emunah, R. & Johnson, D. R. (eds.), *Current approaches in drama therapy*. Springfield, IL: Charles C Thomas. p. 89–116.)
- Jones, P. 1996. *Drama as Therapy: Theatre as Living*. London: Routledge.
- Jones, P. 2005. *The Arts Therapies: A Revolution in Healthcare*. London: Routledge.
- Jones, P. (ed.) 2010. *Drama as Therapy Volume 2: Clinical Work and Research into Practice*. London: Routledge.
- Khan, F. 2007. Local Integration: Lessons Learnt and the way Forward. *University of Cape Town Refugee Rights Project*. Cape Town, South Africa. University of Cape Town.
- Kershaw, B. & Nicholson, H. (eds). 2011. *Research Methods in theatre and Performance*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press Ltd.
- Keesing-Styles, L. 2003. The Relationship between Critical Pedagogy and Assessment in Teacher Education. *Radical Pedagogy*. 5(1): 1-19, Spring.
- Kvale, S. 1996. *Inter Views: An introduction to qualitative research interviewing*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Landau, L. B. & Segatti, A. W. K. 2009. Human Development Impacts of Migration: South Africa Case Study. *Human Development, United Nations Development Programme Human Development Reports Research Paper*. 2009(5).
- Landau, L. 2013. Xenophobic Demons Linger in S.A. *Mail and Guardian*. Available at: <http://mg.co.za/article/2013-05-17-00-xenophobic-demons-linger-in-sa/> [2013, July 21].
- Latin Word List. 2013. *Facilis*. Available: <http://www.latinwordlist.com/latin-words/facilis-10434185.htm> [2013, Aug 21].
- Laws, K. & McLeod, R. 2004, July. Case study and grounded theory: Sharing some alternative qualitative research methodologies with systems professionals. *In Proceedings of the 22nd International Conference of the Systems Dynamics Society*.

- LeGendre, P. 2011. *U.N. Expert Highlights Xenophobia in South Africa, Calls for Hate Crime Legislation*. Available: <http://www.humanrightsfirst.org/2011/06/03/u-n-expert-highlights-xenophobia-in-south-africa/> [2013, Aug 22].
- Lincoln, Y. S. & Guba, E. A. 1985. *Naturalistic Inquiry*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- LRC. 2013. *Refugees*. Available: <http://www.lrc.org.za/refugees> [2013, July 22].
- Lyman, R. 2013. Attacks have Immigrants Worried Again in South Africa. The New York Times (online). Available at: http://www.nytimes.com/2013/07/18/world/africa/wave-of-violence-has-immigrants-worried-anew-in-south-africa.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0 [2013, July 28].
- Lynch, L. 2010. *Student Choice in the Classroom*. Pennsylvania, United States of America. PennState. (CIRT-thesis.)
- MacNaughton, G. 2001. Action research. (In MacNaughton, G., Rolfe, S.A., & I. Siraj- Blatchford (eds.), *Doing early childhood research: International perspectives on theory and practice*. Crows Nest NSW: Allen & Unwin. p. 208-223.)
- Macrine, S. (ed). 2009. *Critical Pedagogy in Uncertain Times*. New York: Palgrave Macmillon.
- Madan, A. 2010. Saisir les étoiles: Fostering a sense of belonging with child survivors of war. (In Jones, P. (ed.), *Drama as therapy, volume 2: Clinical work and research into practice*. London: Routledge. p. 260–277.)
- Mallows, D. (ed). 2012. *Innovations in English Language Teaching for Migrant and Refugees*. London: The British Council.
- Maslow, A.H. 1943. A Theory of Human Motivation, *Psychological Review*, 50(4): 370-96.
- Mee, E. B. 2012. The Cultural Intifada: Palestinian Theatre in the West Bank. *The Drama Review*, 56(3): 167-177.
- Mercer, M. 2008. *Imizamo Yethu*. Available: http://houtbay.typepad.com/hout_bay_real_estate/2008/01/imizamo-yethu.html [2013, June 29].
- Merriam, S.B. 1998. *Qualitative research and case study applications in education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.
- Miller, C. & Saxton, J. 2004. *Into the story: Language in action through drama*. NH: Heinemann.

- Milliken, P. J. & Schreiber, R. 2012. Examining the Nexus Between Grounded Theory and Symbolic Interactionism. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 11(5): 684-696.
- Montessori, M. 1964. *Montessori Method*. New York: Random House Digital, Inc.
- Morley, J. G. 2000. *Trauma repair through therapeutic enactment: A protagonist's perspective*. British Columbia, Canada. Trinity Western University. (Doctoral dissertation.)
- Morris, E. 1998. *Being & Doing: A Workbook for Actors*. Los Angeles: Ermor Enterprises.
- Murray, M. 2003. Alien Strangers in Our Midst: The Dreaded Foreign Invasion and "Fortress South Africa." *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 37(2-3):440-466.
- Naicker, P. & Nair, R. 2000. *To be a refugee in South Africa*. Available: <http://www.queensu.ca/samp/sampresources/migrationdocuments/documents/2000/3.html> [2013, July 22].
- Neelands, J. & Dobson, W. 2008. *Advanced drama and theatre studies*. 2nd ed. London, UK: Hodder Education.
- Nicholson, H. 2005. *Applied theatre: The gift of drama*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Nicholson, H. 2009. *Theatre & Education*. UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Parahoo, K., 1997. *Nursing Research: Principles, Process, Issues*. London: Macmillan.
- Pauluth-Penner, T. 2010. "Bringing Data to Life": Encountering Dilemmas Within an Applied Theatre Multidisciplinary Research Project. *Canadian Journal of Practice-based Research in Theatre*, 2(1).
- Pivec, P. 2009. Game-based Learning or Game-based Teaching? Available: http://emergingtechnologies.becta.org.uk/uploaddir/downloads/page_documents/research/emerging_technologies/game_based_learning.pdf [2013, Sept 03].
- Prendergast, M. & Saxton, J. (eds). 2009. *Applied Theatre: International Case Studies and Challenges for Practice*. UK: Intellect.
- Prendergast, M. & Saxton, J. 2013. *Applied Drama: A Facilitator's Handbook for Working in Community*. UK: Intellect L & DEFAE.
- Prentki, P. & Preston, S. (eds). 2009. *The Applied Theatre Reader*. London: Routledge.
- Pupavac, V. 2006. *Refugees in the 'sick role': stereotyping refugees and eroding refugee rights*. Available: <http://www.unhcr.org/44e198712.html> [2013, Aug 27].

- Reynolds, A. 2011. Developmental Transformations: Improvisational Drama Therapy with Children in Acute Inpatient Psychiatry. *Social Work With Groups*, 34(3-4): 296-309.
- Ranasinha, R. 2013. *Drama Therapy in Sri Lanka*. Available: http://www.academia.edu/1960967/Drama_Therapy_in_Sri_Lanka [2013, Aug 24].
- Rolls, D. 2010. *Creative ESOL*. Available: <http://www.rewrite.org.uk/projects.html> [2013, Aug 13].
- Roth, A. S. 2011. *Challenges to Disaster Risk Reduction- A study of stakeholders' perspectives in Imizamo Yethu, South Africa*. Sweden: Lund University.
- Rousseau, C., Benoit, M., Gauthier, M., Lacroix, L., Alain, N., Rojas, M.V., Moran, A. & Bourassa, D. 2007. Classroom drama therapy program for immigrant and refugee adolescents: A pilot study. *Clinical child psychology and psychiatry*, 12(3): 451-465.
- Rousseau, C. & Drapeau, A. 2004. Premigration exposure to political violence among independent immigrants and its association with emotional distress. *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, 192(12): 852–856.
- Scalabrini. 2012. *Scalabrini Centre Cape Town*. Available: <http://www.scalabrini.org.za> [2013, May 23].
- Scalabrini v Minister of Home Affairs. 2013. 11681. Available: <http://www.saflii.org/za/cases/ZAWCHC/2012/147.html> [2012, Sep 9].
- Schwalbe, M. L. 2005. Self and Self-Concept. (In Ritzer, G. (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Social Theory*. Thousand Oaks, C.A.: Sage Publications. p. 684-687.)
- Scofield, H. 2012. *Canada's immigrant population surges to 6.8M foreign-born residents*. Available: <http://www.ctvnews.ca/canada/canada-s-immigrant-population-surges-to-6-8m-foreign-born-residents-1.1272126> [2013, July 23].
- Seekers, J. 2013. *Fight over Refugee Reception Centre in court*. Available: <http://www.enca.com/south-africa/fight-over-refugee-reception-centre-court> [2013, July 23].
- Shanley, M. 2012. *Sixth Night of Violence in Sweden, but Police say Capital Calmer*. Available:

- <http://news.yahoo.com/violence-spreads-outside-swedish-capital-violence-abates-001206028.html> [2013, July 24].
- Snow, D. 2001. Extending and Broadening Blumer's Conceptualization of Symbolic Interactionism. *Symbolic Interaction*, 24(3): 367-377.
- Somers, J. W. 2008. Interactive theatre: Drama as social intervention. *Music and arts in action*, 1(1): 61-86.
- Sorbell, L.C., Maisto, S.A., Sobell, M.B. & Cooper, A.M. 1979. Reliability of alcohol abusers' self-reports of drinking behavior. *Behavior Research and Therapy*, 17: 157-160.
- Spolin, V. 1963. *Theater Games for Rehearsal*. Illinois: Northwestern University Press.
- Staff Writers. 2012. World facing unprecedented refugee crisis: UNHCR. AFP, *Agence French Presse*. October 1.
- Statistics South Africa. 2013. *Latest Key Indicators*. Available: <http://www.statssa.gov.za/keyindicators/keyindicators.asp> [2013, July 22].
- Strauss, A. & Corbin, J. 1994. Grounded theory methodology. *Handbook of qualitative research*: 273-285.
- Sullivan, J. 2004. Community environmental forum theatre: A dramatic model for dialogue and participatory research among citizens and scientists. *Stage of the Art*, 16(1): 17-23.
- Tapper, J. & Smith, M. 2013. 'Source: Boston bomb suspects says brother was brains behind attack.' CNN U.S., [online] 22 April. Available at: <http://www.cnn.com/2013/04/22/us/boston-attack/index.html> [2013, Aug. 9].
- Thompson, J. 2003. *Applied Theatre: Bewilderment and Beyond*. Oxford: Peter Lang.
- Thompson, J. 2009. *Performance Affects: Applied Theatre and the End of Effect*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- UNESCO. 2013. *Migrant/Migration*. Available: <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/international-migration/glossary/migrant/> [2013, Sept 23].
- UNHCR. 2012. Displacement: The new 21st Century Challenge. *2012 Global Trends*. [Pamphlet].
- UNHCR. 2013. *Financial Figures*. Available: <http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49c3646c1a.html> [2013, Nov 28].

Van Erven, E. 2001. *Community Theatre: Global Perspectives*. London: Routledge.

Warren, B., 1996. *Drama Games*. 2nd ed. North York: Captus Press Inc.

Williams, K. D. 2001. *Ostracism: The Power of Silence*. New York: The Guildford Press.

Williams, K. D. 2007. Ostracism: The kiss of social death. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 1: 236-247.

University of Cape Town